DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 311 799 HE 022 855

TITLE	Current Issues in Catholic Higher Education. College, Country, Church. 1789-1989. Vol 10, Number 1. Summer 1989.
INSTITUTION	Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities, Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO	ISBN-1-55833-030-5
PUB DATE	89
NOTE	39p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities, Suite 650, One Dupont Circle, Washington, DC 20036 ($4.50).
PUB TYPE	Books (010)
JOURNAL CIT	Current Issues in Catholic Higher Education; v10 n1 Sum 1989
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Freedom; Catholic Educators; *Catholic Schools; *Church Related Colleges; *Church Role; College Role; Educational History; Higher Education; International Educational Exchange; *Private Colleges; Religious Education; Single Sex Colleges; Womens Education

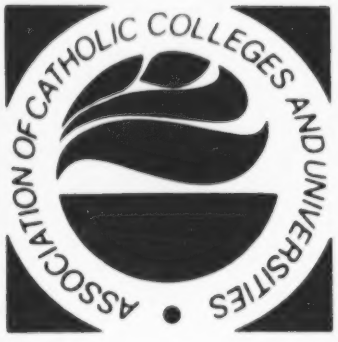
ABSTRACT

A collection of papers on current issues in Catholic higher education is presented. Papers are as follows: "Introduction" (Alice Gallin); "Changing and Remaining the Same: A Look at the Record" (Philip Gleason); "Catholic Women's Colleges: A Review of the Record" (Karen M. Kennelly); "A Weight to Our Establishment: Georgetown University and the Republic" (R. Emmet Curran); "Reflections: The Importance of the International in Catholic Higher Education" (Theodore M. Hesburgh); and "Bicentennial History of the Catholic Church in the United States" (Patrick H. Samway). Papers from the 1989 Annual Meeting of the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities are also included: "Disciplined Inquiry: A Catholic Reflection on Academic Freedom" (William J. Byron); "Response" (James J. Annarelli); "Response" (James L. Heft); and "The Hesburgh Award: A Response" (Sally M. Furay). (SM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED311799

Current Issues in Catholic Higher Education



College, Country, Church
1789 – 1989

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Association of Catholic
Colleges & Universities
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

022 855

Volume 10, Number 1
Summer, 1989

Association of Catholic
Colleges and Universities

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Chair:
Kathleen Feeley, SSND
College of Notre Dame of Maryland
Vice Chair:
Joseph A. O'Hare, SJ
Fordham University, NY
Immediate Past Chair:
Francis J. Kerins
Carroll College, MT

Terms to 1990
Louis DeThomasis, FSC
St. Mary's College, MN
Brigid Driscoll, RSHM
Marymount College, NY
Author Hughes
University of San Diego, CA
Janice Ryan, RSM
Trinity College, VT
Paul Tipton, SJ
Spring Hill College, AL

Terms to 1991
Dorothy Brown
Rosemont College, PA
Theodore Drahmann, FSC
Christian Brothers College, TN
Margaret Huber, CDP
LaRoche College, PA
William Neenan, SJ
Boston College, MA
Norman Francis
Xavier University, LA

Terms to 1992
Lawrence Biondi, SJ
Saint Louis University, MO
Bartley MacPhaidin, CSC
Stonehill College, MA
Jeanne O'Laughlin, OP
Barry University, FL
Timothy O'Meara
University of Notre Dame, IN
William Sullivan, SJ
Seattle University, WA

ex-officio
Catherine McNamee, CSJ
President, NCEA

ACCU Executive Staff
Alice Gallin, OSU
Executive Director
Paul J. Gallagher
Associate Executive Director

ISBN 1-55833-030-5

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction
Alice Gallin, OSU 3

Changing and Remaining the Same:
A Look at the Record
Philip Gleason 4

Catholic Women's Colleges:
A Review of the Record
Karen M. Kennelly, CSJ 9

A Weight to Our Establishment:
Georgetown University and the Republic
R. Emmet Curran, SJ 14

Reflections: The Importance of the
International in Catholic Higher Education
Theodore M. Hesburgh, CSC 17

Bicentennial History of the Catholic
Church in the United States
Patrick H. Samway, SJ 19

1989 Annual Meeting Papers

Disciplined Inquiry: A Catholic Reflection on
Academic Freedom
William J. Byron, SJ 23

Response
James J. Annarelli 29

Response
James L. Heft, SM 32

The Hesburgh Award: A Response
Sally M. Furay, RSCJ 35

Introduction

This has been a year of bicentennials — The Constitution of the United States of America, the beginning of the structure for the Catholic Church, and the foundation of our first Catholic college at Georgetown. The nation, the church, and higher education — all born, as it were, in the same year. That the events were inter-related was attested to by John Carroll, when he wrote of the "extraordinary revolution" that had occurred in the the life and position of the Roman Catholic Church because of the break with England. As recounted by Professor David O'Brien in *Public Catholicism* (p. 9), which Father Patrick Samway cites later in this issue, in 1783 Carroll rejoiced in the fact that "free toleration is allowed to Christians of every denomination" while in several states "a communication of all civil rights, without distinction or diminution, is extended to those of our religion." Here, he pointed out, English-speaking Catholics were now free to worship as they pleased, educate their children and in some states participate on an equal basis in public affairs. So, it was only appropriate that ACCU participate all in these "birthday" celebrations.

We were honored by the United States Bicentennial Commission in May, 1988, for the work done on our many campuses to focus on the Constitution and its contemporary meaning. ACCU's executive director served on the sub-commission on the history of the American church set up by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' Bicentennial Committee. It was this sub-committee that designed the series of books, *The Bicentennial Commission History of the Catholic Church in America*, edited by Chistopher J. Kauffman. These six volumes give us a splendid over-view of the life of the church, and a review of them appears in this issue.

Finally, with inspiration from Rev. Timothy Healy, SJ, and under the direction of Rev. Charles Currie, SJ, the Georgetown anniversary has been the occasion for a two-year series of events, including discussions of such topics as research in science and technology, the Catholic dimension in higher education, and public policy and the common good. There also was a four-day conference at Georgetown University in June 1989 on the theme of higher education, and a great celebration of Jesuit education in the United States on June 8 at Georgetown Prepparatory School.

Why are we so caught up in these celebrations? For all of us it is an occasion to reflect on and be grateful for our freedom—as a church and as a nation. It is also a time to evaluate our use of that freedom and to dream of a continued educational mission.

To help us in this process of reflection on our history, we asked three eminent historians to assist us: Philip Gleason on the history of Catholic higher education in the United States; Karen Kennelly, CSJ, on the development of Catholic women's colleges; and Rev. Emmett Curran, SJ, on the story of Georgetown.

But our world is not confined to this continent. Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, CSC, has been a leader in American Catholic higher education who has always had a global vision. President of the IFCU (International Federation of Catholic Universities), he has promoted exchange and cooperation on all levels. His new work, after 35 years as president of University of Notre Dame, is to direct the Center for International Peace Studies, a project which brings together scholars from around the world to live and work together for a year or more on the Notre Dame campus.

Finally, in this issue we include the papers from the ACCU annual meeting. The keynote address by Rev. William J. Byron, SJ, president of The Catholic University of America, was sponsored by Delta Epsilon Sigma, and was on the topic of an American Catholic perspective on academic freedom. Two prepared responses by Rev. James Heft, SM, and James Annarelli are also included. In her acceptance of the Hesburgh Award for 1989, Sally Furay, RSCJ, touched all of us deeply by her personal conviction about the value of what we are all engaged in — the tremendous task of Catholic higher education.

The discussion of these topics and many related ones will not be ended with the bicentennial. They are fundamental issues of purpose, of goals, and of governance. As such, they are closely aligned with questions of culture and history and can never be answered in a static context.

What will the next century contribute to world history? There will be other events to celebrate and other tasks to be accomplished. With St. Paul, let us "press on to what lies ahead."

Alice Gallin, OSU
Executive Director

CHANGING AND REMAINING THE SAME: A LOOK AT THE RECORD

Philip Gleason

The expression "identity crisis" has pretty well passed out of fashion.[1] We hear it much less often than we did a few years ago. Yet the concern Catholic educators feel about maintaining the distinctive religious character of their schools suggests that the problem it designates is still very much with us. And one can confidently predict that it will remain, for what psychologist Erik Erikson has in mind when he coined the expression is a perennial paradox — how to change without becoming completely different; how to remain the same without stultifying oneself by losing touch with changing reality.

Erikson was of course primarily concerned with identity as a personal problem. But he was also deeply interested in history and paid careful attention to it in analyzing issues related to identity. That should not really be surprising — although it probably seems so — *for the interaction of continuity and change* is what history is all about. And to bring continuity and change into balance is to negotiate and identity crisis. That being the case, it seems reasonable to inquire whether the past history of Catholic higher education in this country may not afford useful perspectives on the problem of continuity and change as it presents itself to us today.

In seeking to show that history can enrich our understanding of the problem, I will be speaking of continuity in terms of *tradition*, and change in terms of *adaptation*. The first part of the discussion points out that tradition and adaptation are so closely intertwined as to be almost inseparable. The second and third parts identify two periods in which the pace of change was intense enough to justify speaking of them as crises. The conclusion offers some brief comments on Americanization as an overall perspective on the subject.

Dr. Gleason is a professor of history at the University of Notre Dame. In slightly different form this paper was delivered as a lecture in Georgetown University's Bicentennial Series on October 27, 1987.

THE INTERLINKAGE OF TRADITION AND ADAPTATION

For most of us, "traditional" usually means what we remember of former times. That doesn't really carry us back very far; hence it is not surprising that some of our "traditions" are of quite recent vintage. Most people, for example, are taken aback when told that only three Catholic colleges in the country offered an academic major in religion in 1937, and they are even more astonished to learn that teaching *theology* to undergraduates was not seriously proposed until two years later.

In fact, tradition is being modified almost continuously, and adaptations quickly merge with older ways and soon become an indistinguishable part of the tradition they modified. Once stated the point is obvious. It will be worthwhile, however, to give a few examples to indicate how pervasively the novelty of American circumstances required adaptations that soon became part of the customary pattern. The experience of the teaching orders that played so crucial a role in the history of Catholic higher education in this county illustrates how flexible "tradition" could be in this regard.

Consider the case of the pre-eminent teaching order, the Jesuits. In Europe, where their schools were supported by endowments, they charged no tuition. In this country, schools had to be self-supporting, and the Jesuits found it impossible to continue the European tradition of free education. Although the Americans had trouble convincing their superiors in Rome, they were at length (in 1833) given permission to charge tuition in their schools, and thereafter took such an arrangement for granted.

The absence of fixed endowments, and the fact that they existed in a religiously pluralistic society in which Catholics formed at first a tiny minority, likewise dictated that Jesuits and all other teaching communities of men and women accept non-Catholic students. Until the middle of the nineteenth century it was not at all unusual for Protestants to constitute a third to a half of the student bodies in Catholic colleges and academies — a fact that doubtless seems surprising to those who

assume the early colleges were founded simply to "protect the faith" of Catholic youngsters.

Because of the popular demand for education, religious communities found schools and colleges the ideal means for establishing a toe-hold — an institutional base from which they could derive support, recruit new members, and expand their operations. Thus, education played a crucial role in the development of religious communities in this country, even if that was not the work for which they were primarily founded. The Vincentians, for example, were drawn into collegiate education almost immediately on arriving in Missouri in 1818, and found it impossible to withdraw even though many in the community regarded it as a departure from their real mission.

The Christian Brothers furnish a particularly interesting example of the interaction of tradition and adaptation — and the complications that could result. In Europe, the brothers did not teach Latin because mastery of that language was a mark of upper class status, and their founder, John Baptist de la Salle, intended them to teach the poor. In the United Stated, however, they taught all comers (of the male sex); and since secondary schools or colleges couldn't be taken seriously if they didn't teach Latin, the brothers taught that too. They did, that is, until 1900 when headquarters in France *required* them to stop doing so. The French superiors, who looked at matters from the European perspective, regarded what was really a matter of educational democratization as an indication that the American brothers had betrayed their community's commitment to the lowly!

In terms of organizational structure the great adaptation was the long, slow, and painfully achieved transformation of the Catholic college understood as a *Gymnasium* — that is, a school combining both secondary and (what we call) collegiate studies into two separate institutions, namely, an American-style high school and an American-style college. It is a complicated story. Here I will simply assert: 1) Catholic colleges started out as *Gymnasia*; 2) they began making adjustments almost at once; but 3) the changeover was not completed until the first quarter of the twentieth century.

More or less the same is true of curricular content. Catholic educators began with the ideal of the prescribed classical curriculum and tried to realize it in practice. They had to bow to realities from the first, however, for in the nineteenth century only a small minority of their students — probably under ten percent — finished the classical course and received the A.B. degree. The Jesuits, whose commitment to the classics seemed an essential element of their heritage, were particularly troubled by the curricular compromises they had to make. They held their noses while offering the "commercial course" in the nineteenth century, only giving in to "electivism," and the departmental system that accompanied it, around the first World War. Writing in the 1960s, Robert I. Gannon, SJ, formerly president of Fordham, still remembered the new approach's being spoken of as "the depart from the mental system."

THE CRISIS OF INSTITUTIONAL MODERNIZATION

The change that Father Gannon referred to were part of the first of two crises of adaptation. It took place between 1900 and 1925, primarily in the areas of organizational structure and curriculum. Those who opposed the changes regarded what was going on as *secularization*, and in a sense it was. But toward the end of the period, the Catholic "identity" of the colleges and universities was given a more elaborate articulation through the adoption of Neoscholasticism as the official philosophy of Catholic education.

Space does not permit anything like a full discussion of these changes, or of the larger realignment in American education of which they were a part. Let me simply list some of the most important.

1. Socially, the most obvious change was the vast enlargement of the clientele, including women. There were only three or four Catholic schools for women offering college-level work in 1900. By 1930, forty-five women's colleges were accredited by the NCEA, while twenty-nine more were still too new to have gained accreditation. The first steps toward coeducation took place in this era, and between 1899 and 1926 the total number of collegiate, professional, and graduate students in Catholic institutions increased sevenfold (from 6,500 to 46,000).

2. Professional education likewise expanded tremendously in this era. The term "professional" should be understood to here as including not only law, medicine, and dentistry, but also vocationally-oriented programs in engineering, pharmacy, journalism, music, and education. The last-named, education, was especially important since it was intimately linked to the rapid multiplication of women's colleges, and also to the beginnings of graduate education in Catholic institutions. Except at The Catholic University of America, graduate study in Catholic schools was confined mainly to masters-degree work until after World War II.

3. With respect to undergraduate studies, the great change was the definitive separation of secondary from collegiate instruction — that is, the rejection, at long last, of the *Gymnasium*-derived structure. Since prep-level students still outnumbered "true collegians" by about two-to-one on the eve of World War I, this was a wrenching adjustment for Catholic colleges, and a number of them did not survive it.

"Standardization" was the term most often applied to these changes at the time. It involved the differentiation of collegiate and secondary studies on the basis of college-admission standards expressed in high school

"units," a quantitative measure of study-time that came into use between 1900 and 1910. The analogous measuring-stick on the college level, introduced just a little later, was the "semester hour" or "credit." A "standard college" was thus defined as an institution that accepted students who had completed sixteen high-school "units" and gave them a degree after they had been exposed to 120 semester hours of college work. Other "standards" dealt with such matters as the academic preparation needed by college teachers, the minimum number of departments a college should have, library holdings, laboratory equipment, and value of endowment.

Standardization of this kind was made necessary when the old classical curriculum was displaced by the rise of new fields of study. As new subjects proliferated and became more specialized, and as specialization was extended to students through the elective principle, it became harder to specify what a college education should include. In the absence of any consensus as to content, the standardizing bodies (more familiar to us as accrediting agencies) in effect said it didn't matter what subjects one studied so long one studied them long enough in institutions that met agreed-upon "standards" in respect to procedures, personnel, and facilities.

The standardizing movement gave secondary and collegiate education its modern framework — the shape we take so much for granted that we assume it was always there. The reformers who championed standardization in Catholic institutions performed an invaluable service. That they encountered great resistance is understandable since traditionalists regarded it as sheer surrender to materialistic secularism and a betrayal of the Catholic liberal arts heritage that integrated true humanism and the true faith.

The critics were not, of course, wholly wrong. In the 1930s they were joined by Abraham Flexner, Robert Hutchins, and Mortimer Adler in their flaying of the superficiality and crass vocationalism that electivism and quantitative standardization permitted. Their most telling criticisms centered on the breakdown of curricular coherence which, for Catholics, also implied a failure to integrate faith and learning as adequately as the classical curriculum had done. Widespread uneasiness over this problem was one of the factors that led Catholic educators to take up the teaching of neoscholastic philosophy so fervently in the 1920s.

It is true that the "Scholastic Revival" had already been under way for more than a half-century, and I do not mean to imply that Thomism was not studied until after World War I. But it was only in the twenties that neoscholasticism became a real school philosophy — a system of thought that was taught to undergraduates on a mass basis as the "official" philosophy of the Catholic Church. Although they are obviously not the whole story, three features of the higher educational scene played a role in this development: 1) the tremendous expansion and growth already sketched; 2) the institutional modernization that introduced specialized departments of philosophy where more professionalized teachers held forth in required courses extending over twelve credit hours or more; and 3) the aforementioned uneasiness over the loss of curricular unity and the need to find a new way of integrating faith and knowledge.

Neoscholasticism, and the broader intellectual and cultural revival of which it was the central element, thus articulated a Catholic worldview within which institutionally modernized Catholic colleges and universities prospered from the 1920s through the 1950s. In other words, *tradition was reinforced on the ideological level, even while adaptation was avidly pursued on the organizational level.*

This kind of situation obviously entailed tensions, which became more intense after world War II, as overall enrollments surged and graduate work expanded dramatically. The controversy over Catholic intellectual life set off by Msgr. John Tracy Ellis's famous blast in *Thought* (Autumn 1955) testified to the seriousness of the strains. Knowing what happened next, we are tempted to think that everyone should have been prepared for fundamental readjustments on the ideological level. But the fact is that when they came in the 1960s, those changes took everyone by surprise — and we have not yet figured quite how to accommodate them. Which brings me to the second crisis of change.

THE CRISIS OF IDEOLOGICAL MODERNIZATION

For those who were adults when it began, this crisis is part of the present moment and hardly needs to be described. As a matter of fact, its beginnings date back more than a quarter of a century, and are quite remote from the experience of the younger faculty in Catholic colleges — not to mention the students, to whom Vatican II is hardly less "historical" than Trent. To such persons, it might seem extravagant to characterize as a "crisis" what they are apt to regard as long overdue reforms — attended, in their coming, by pleasantly exhilarating episodes of righteous militance.

To the extent that this impoverished view of things actually obtains, it is a problem we will have to bypass, because there is no room for even a sketch of the developments in question. Here I will simply assume that the reader knows what I am talking about when I say that the "Catholic identity" issue, which emerged in the middle 1960s, did — and does — represent a real crisis. It is a crisis because it required Catholic institutions to decide whether they wish to remain Catholic, and, if they do, to devise new ways to operationalize that decision.

What are some of the changes whose combined effect adds up to crisis? Most obvious are the structural, curricular, and disciplinary changes (such as the shift to lay boards of trustees, the reduction or elimination of course requirements in religion and philosophy, and the relaxation of *in loco parentis*) which eroded the "traditional" religious identity and atmosphere of Catholic institutions. But these changes flow from deeper shifts in the realm of ideas and values. They are really by-products of the more fundamental crisis of ideological modernization.

The nature of that crisis can be put in a nutshell by saying that *a working consensus no longer exists among Catholic academics and administrators about what it means, in intellectual terms, to be a Catholic and about how Catholic faith should influence the work one does as a scholar and teacher.*

I do not mean that they have all given up on these matters. The point, rather, is that disagreement, uncertainty, and confusion abound. Some, of course, have given up. It would be fatuous to deny that the faculties of Catholic institutions include a considerable proportion who are indifferent to the preservation of their school's religious character, and a smaller percentage who are discreetly unsympathetic to that goal. Many others, however, are still actively committed to the ideal of relating faith and learning, both in their personal teaching and by means of curricular programs. The trouble is that conservatives, moderates, progressives, and radicals disagree deeply about how things are to be done. What is worse, they often suspect each other of bad faith. The resulting climate of confusion and mistrust nourishes the kind of superficial cynicism which academics adopt so thoughtlessly, and which itself becomes a factor in the situation because it encourages people to say "a plague on all your houses" and join the ranks of those who have given up on the whole project.

It is my view, which I cannot develop in detail, that the collapse of neoscholasticism played a key role in these developments. Ideas, intellect, truth — these are the very crux of higher education. And whatever one may think of its intrinsic validity, neoscholastic philosophy and theology functioned for two generations before the council as the agreed-upon Catholic system for reconciling the claims of faith and reason, establishing the rational grounding for religious claims, and articulating the implications of faith in the areas of personal morality (e.g., natural law teaching on birth control), social ethics (e. g., subsidiarity and the common good), even international relations (e.g., just war teaching). Neoscholasticism, in other words, constituted the *intellectual foundation* on which the Catholic identity of Catholic institutions of higher education rested in the half-century before the Second Vatican Council.

Neoscholasticism no longer functions that way, and nothing has taken its place. The only thing that even looks like a candidate is peace-and-justice education. That approach is closely linked to newly emerging trends in theology, but whether it will furnish an adequate base for a distinctive Catholic presence in American higher education remains to be seen. We are thus, as I see it, still in the midst of the crisis of ideological modernization. Rather than speculate on how it will develop in the future, I will conclude with a few very general comments about the way tradition and adaptation have interacted over the long haul.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I want to propose that Americanization constitutes the most useful perspective on the subject. Since adjustment to the local environment meant adapting to American circumstances, that might seem a tautology. To give it more concrete content, let us consider three very American principles that have shaped the adaptations made by the colleges.

1. *Democratization* changed the relationship of the schools to their clientele, as the examples of the Jesuits' charging tuition and the Christian Brothers' teaching Latin illustrate. Democratization was also at work in the extension of higher education to women. The elective principle was interpreted as a democratization of studies, and in recent years faculty participation in governance has been linked with the democratic ideal.

2. *Freedom* is another cornerstone value. One of its less obvious implications is voluntaryism — the principle, that is, that people are free to launch their own endeavors and carry them forward by their own efforts. That is, to a considerable extent, the key to the whole activity of Catholic higher education in this country — including the "proliferation" of Catholic colleges and universities, which critics have so often lamented, without, apparently, perceiving how proliferation is connected with freedom and voluntaryism. A more recent, and more positively evaluated, example of freedom's influence is the new concern for academic freedom that has established itself in Catholic institutions in the past two decades.

3. *Secularity* or religious neutrality, is the last of the American principles that has affected Catholic higher education. In its practical working out, secularity/neutrality tended to become *secularization*, understood here as that separation of religion from social and political life which has expanded outward from the constitutional separation of church and state to include many other areas of life which were earlier thought of as falling within the purview of the churches. As the state expanded into these areas, the churches withdrew or at least attenuated their involvement. In higher education this development occurred in the pace-setting institutions between 1880 and 1910. Catholics, although quite

hostile to the secularizing tendency through the 1950s, have become much more sympathetic in the past quarter century. This shift is part of the rethinking of church/world relationships that dates from the Second Vatican Council. In higher education, the changeover to lay boards of trustees parallels the juridical "secularization" that took place when clergymen were displaced from the boards of leading Protestant institutions around the turn of the century.

Assuming that this makes clear what I meant in calling Americanization the most useful perspective on the kind of adaptations Catholic colleges and universities have made, it remains only to say what I think about it. To do so adequately would require another paper. Since that would be out of place here, let me conclude with two observations.

The *first* is that these factors, forces, tendencies, principles — whatever one wishes to call them — will continue to act upon our colleges and universities and will therefore have to be dealt with.

The *second* is that while I regard them, and Americanization *in globo*, as good things, I do not regard them as unproblematic. In other words, I do not regard democratization, freedom, and secularity/neutrality as the kind of good things of which it is impossible to have too much, and which are to be favored everywhere and under all circumstances. Rather they should be seen as part of our heritage — an important part, since we are American Catholic educators. But all parts of that heritage, and contemporary needs as well, must be balanced against each other as we endeavor to do justice to both continuity and change in negotiating the still-continuing crisis of identity.

Catholic Women's Colleges: A Review of the Record

Karen M. Kennelly, CSJ

A review of the record of Catholic higher education for women in the United States is particularly opportune given the occasion of the bicentennial of the official establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in this country and the 1990 bicentennial of the first religious congregation of women, the Carmelites of Port Tobago, to be established in what was then territorial United States. The Carmelites, faithful to their contemplative vocation, declined Bishop John Carroll's pressing invitation to teach as a means of supporting themselves. Later, women's congregations, beginning with Elizabeth Ann Seton's companions (in the early nineteenth century), began the schools which were to be the forerunners of the women's colleges of the next century. [1]

Of unique importance for the emergence of colleges for women were the academies founded by the great majority of immigrant and indigenous communities in the 1800s. Although sources of reliable data are deficient for the period, it is estimated that the 200 women religious in the country as of 1822 had expanded to 45,000 by the end of the century. They were members of 120 distinct communities and were conducting roughly 650 girls' academies. [2] These figures help place in perspective the college movement which originated in the last half of the nineteenth century with the introduction of collegiate courses of study at a handful of academies. What has been looked upon as a "proliferation" or unfortunate growth of numerous small institutions of doubtful quality was actually a severely selective expansion from a strong base of academy resources.

The 14 women's colleges included in 1918 in the first Catholic Education Association accreditation list which recognized this category of higher education (the 1916 survey ignored the women) provide an instructive insight into the beginnings of the Catholic college for women in the united States. [3] The cluster of midwest institutions had the oldest academy pedigrees; the eastern seaboard group the earliest awarding of college degrees; and the South and West were unrepresented. Thus we find the Sisters of the Holy Cross founding in the 1840s an academy which became a full-fledged college, St. Mary's in South Bend, Indiana, by 1905; baccalaureate degrees were conferred for the first time in 1898. The Sisters of Providence likewise founded an academy in rural Indiana in the 1840s: St. Mary-of-the-Woods in Terre Haute began offering college-level instruction in the last decades of the nineteenth century and was chartered as a baccalaureate degree-granting institution in 1909, by which time a full baccalaureate program was in place.

St. Clara Academy, founded in 1851 by the Dominican Sisters (Sinsinawa), became the nucleus for St. Clara College chartered in 1901; it had a four-year curriculum well developed by 1908, and relocated from rural Wisconsin to suburban Chicago in 1922 when it was renamed Rosary College. The Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary opened St. Mary's Female Academy less than three weeks after their arrival in 1843 in Dubuque, Iowa.

The academy evolved into a four-year college, known first as Mount St. Joseph's and then as Clarke College, between 1901 and 1915. In Michigan, Sister Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary began with an academy in Monroe in 1845, adding to it normal school courses and, in the first decade of the present century, baccalaureate studies. St. Mary's College, established at the original academy site in Monroe, was renamed Marygrove and moved to Detroit in 1929.

Minnesota gained two women's colleges — two more were to follow under the auspices of the Benedictines — through the initiative of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet and the Sisters of St. Francis of Rochester. The Sisters of St. Joseph opened St. Joseph Academy within a few weeks of their arrival in St. Paul in 1851, having gained valuable academy experience in St. Louis since 1836. They laid plans for opening a collegiate department in 1887, but, deterred by financial difficulties, did not do so until 1905 when they founded a new high school, Derham Hall, and the College of St. Catherine in the same building with boarders from St.

Sister Karen M. Kennelly is president-designate of Mount St. Mary's College, California.

Joseph Academy as the student body. The Sisters of St. Francis formed Winona Ladies Seminary in 1895 as a secondary school to which collegiate studies were to be added. This was done in 1907 with the introduction of the first year of college work at St. Teresa's College.

On the eastern seaboard, the School Sisters of Notre Dame, having begun an academy in Baltimore in the 1860s, began adding college studies in the 1870s. They secured a college charter in 1896 and first awarded baccalaureate degrees in 1899.

The Sisters of Charity of Newark founded St. Elizabeth's Academy in 1860; by 1895 the New York Regents visitor encouraged them to offer a college-level curriculum. A college charter was secured in 1900. The Ursulines built on their experience conducting an elite boarding school to charter the College of New Rochelle in 1904; extension classes in New York City from the outset foreshadowed New Rochelle's urban future and stimulated its early growth — in 1926 its 552 students made it the sixth largest Catholic institution of higher education in the country and the largest of the Catholic women's colleges. [4]

The New Jersey Sisters of Mercy and the Grey Nuns similarly progressed from academy to college when they founded Mount St. Mary's (later Georgian Court) College and D'Youville College (Buffalo, New York), respectively, both in 1908. The Religious of the Sacred Heart in Cincinnati, having begun with a downtown academy in 1896 which they later transferred to the outskirts of the city, upgraded this to a college in 1917. Alone of the colleges appearing on the Catholic Education Association's 1918 accredited list, this college was short-lived and did not appear on the 1926 accreditation list.

Finally, the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur broke custom by establishing a college rather than an academy in one of the cities where they functioned as educators. Trinity College, founded by them in Washington, DC, in 1900, was a departure from their usual pattern and unique among the earliest Catholic colleges for women in its deliberate creation apart from academy precedent. The forthright intent of the sisters to provide higher education for Catholic young women, as well as the proximity of the Trinity site to The Catholic University of America, open at that time only to men, evoked public debate among Catholics regarding the propriety and desirability of college study for women. The steadfastness of the sisters, their academic and fiscal acumen, and the positive response of women to their college initiative contributed to the determination of numerous communities to follow suit. Other powerful factors contributed to the impressive growth in the number of Catholic colleges for women — between 1926 and 1955 that number increased from 26 to 116 four year and 24 junior colleges. Among them, women religious viewed collegiate instruction as a natural extension of academy instruction, necessitated by the educational trends of the times and essential for the continuation of the educational apostolate of the religious themselves. State certification requirements were rapidly rendering it impossible for sisters to teach without a normal school or a baccalaureate degree. [5] Neither could academy diplomas any longer enable the sisters' students to enter the elementary or secondary teaching field. Catholic women, excluded from Catholic colleges and universities, were resorting to private and public institutions that admitted women to obtain the level of education they desired and needed.

Debate in Catholic circles over what the sisters proposed to do often hindered and seldom assisted them in the realization of their ambition to provide for Catholic women equality in the educational sphere. Persuasion that women belonged in the home prompted lay and clerical critics to question the need of higher studies for women and to speculate on the harmfulness of such occupations. William Stang, Bishop of Fall River, Massachusetts, epitomized this viewpoint when he reasoned in a 1905 volume that women were intended by God to be wives and mothers and that they did not need to be as educated as their husbands, to whom they should be subordinate. There was no necessity for women to read newspapers and novels, occupations for which higher education would presumably fit them, for "smartness is not becoming to a women. "[6]

Pragmatic reasons convinced others of the merit of what the women religious proposed. In the bracing climate of the upper Midwest where Mother Seraphine Ireland of the Sisters of St. Joseph worked hand in hand with her brother, Archbishop John Ireland, to build Catholic institutions in an archdiocese encompassing three states, colleges for women seemed a good idea and the sisters seemed capable of anything. Having acquainted readers of the sisters' plan to open a college in St. Paul in 1891, the editor of the local Catholic newspaper noted that "the requirements of the time demand a collegiate institute. . . .The world has changed very much for women of late years. Almost every department of business, of literature, of science, or art is thrown open to her. The education of the past suited the past narrow sphere of woman; the education of the future must be as broad as the wide field opened up to the gentler sex."[7] After a rhetorical nod in the direction of reservations regarding women's capacity for higher studies — "we are not here discussing the physiological questions regarding the undeveloped and therefore uncomplicated state of the average woman's brain as compared with men's" — the editorial returned to the solid ground of pragmatism and an unreserved endorsement of the sisters' collegiate aims:

> The world has seen fit to open to women almost every field of industry and intellect and therefore Catholic women should be prepared to take part

in this new and enlarged sphere. It is well that our Catholic academies should realize the immense change which has come over the world for women, that in fact the woman of today is a working partner in the world's business.[8]

Like John Lancaster Spalding, Bishop of Peoria, Archbishop Ireland not only believed wholeheartedly in equality of opportunity for women in higher education (and in suffrage) but also lent his prestige and practical support to sisters when they undertook to found colleges. The College of St. Catherine benefited from his donation of land, the dedication of proceeds from the sale of the two-volume publication of his sermons, *The Church and Modern Society*, and the directing of a $20,000 donation from a local philanthropist to the sisters as the first building was going up. Trinity College benefited in different ways from Ireland's moral support when it seemed that critics might prevent it from opening; its most important episcopal supporter, however, was Bishop Spalding whose lectures, writings, advice and interventions did much to defuse opposition to Trinity in the years immediately preceding its opening in 1900. Mother Julia McGroarty, founder of Trinity, badly needed Ireland's affirmation of the college concept in 1898 when he wrote, "As to whether there should be higher education for young women, that is a settled question. Higher education there will be, and higher education there ought to be."[9] She and the sisters assisting her in the preparation of faculty, curriculum development, and fund raising preparatory to Trinity's construction and opening solicited Spalding's help as well as Ireland's. They were not disappointed.

Well known for his views on the equality of women, Spalding had used the platform of an 1878 commencement address at the University of Notre Dame to challenge an all-male graduating class to build a better society in which the poor would be protected, child labor would cease, the ignorant would be educated, war would be condemned as "public murder," the prevalent system of industrial competition would be considered worse than war; and in which "women must have the same rights as men."[10] It was once more a university setting, this time the laying of the cornerstone for The Catholic University of America in 1883, that afforded Spalding a chance to reiterate publicly his views on progress as related to the emancipation of women. Speaking to an audience gathered to celebrate the founding of a university for men, Spalding argued that any true Christian must support the cause of women: "whoever is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Christianity must sympathize with all movements having as their object the giving to women the full possession of her rights."[11] Access to higher education under Catholic auspices was one of the rights Spalding believed in most strongly. His plans for a teachers' college for women, published in 1890, became the blueprint for the Sisters' College at The Catholic University of America begun by Father Thomas Shields in 1911, and his lecturing and other activities on behalf of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur helped the sisters overcome last minute obstacles to the foundation of Trinity. Allusion has been made here and there in this narrative to the women whose leadership and foresight accounted more than any other single factor for the founding of the Catholic women's colleges and their subsequent development. Biographical studies remain to be done on most of these unusual women, so influential in shaping the singular characteristics of the earliest colleges: Julia McGroarty of Trinity; Pauline O'Neill of St. Mary's, South Bend, and her successor, Madeleva Wolff; Antonia McHugh of St. Catherine's; Pauline Kelliger of St. Elizabeth's; and, the only lay woman to carry out major administrative and faculty responsibilities in the early colleges, Mary Molloy of St. Teresa's.[12] At least one contemporary observer, a priest-classicist who had the honor of delivering the first annual patronal feast day address in 1906 at the College of St. Catherine, noted the conspicuous reliance on women at the Catholic colleges as a matter of pride even in comparison with sister-colleges for women:

> The ladies' colleges of the country, even Wellesley, Bryn Mawr, and Vassar, have to complete their efficiency by the adventitious aid of the sterner sex. It is the specific note of our Catholic colleges for women that the work is substantially done by members of their own sex.[13]

One of the key accomplishments of the first college presidents and deans was the preparation of a distinguished sister-faculty. Although no others among the women's or men's colleges and universities had the reward of seeing their faculty awarded a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa as was the case of Antonia McHugh at St. Catherine's in 1937, perhaps a dozen could point to a faculty, library, curriculum and student body of superior quality by the 1930's.

The example of the earliest Catholic women's colleges, including that of the Holy Cross Sisters' Saint Catherine Normal Institute (Baltimore, 1875), combined with the need to provide teacher training and access to higher education under Catholic auspices to women,[14] stimulated rapid growth between 1918 and 1930. The Catholic Education Association's accredited list by 1931 included, in addition to the original 14 women's colleges, 26 new institutions in the Atlantic Coast and East Central regions: Albertus Magnus (Connecticut); Saint Joseph's (Maryland); Emmanuel and Regis (Massachusetts); Mt. St. Vincent, Good Counsel, Nazareth, and St. Joseph's College for Women (all in New York State); Immaculata, Marywood, Rosemont, and Seton Hill (all in Pennsylvania); St. Francis Xavier College for Women (Illinois); Nazareth (Kentucky);

Maryville College of the Sacred Heart for Women and Webster College (the latter chartered as Loretto; both in Missouri); Mt. St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio, Notre Dame, and Ursuline (all in Ohio); and Mount Mary (Wisconsin).

The West Central grouping included six added since 1918: Marymount (Kansas); St. Benedict, and St. Scholastica (Minnesota); Duchesne College of the Sacred Heart (Nebraska); and Incarnate Word and Our Lady of the Lake, both in San Antonio, Texas. The West, lacking any CEA accredited colleges as of 1918, now had Holy Names, Dominican College of San Rafael, and Immaculate Heart (all in California) and Loretto Heights (Colorado). Several others in this region and elsewhere in the country had acquired state or regional, though not Catholic Education Association, accreditation: Mount St. Mary's, Los Angeles; San Francisco College for Women; Maryhurst (Oregon); St. Mary-of-the-Wasatch (Utah); and, back east, Sacred Heart, St. Rose, and Marymount, accredited in New York State 1917-1920; Mercyhurst and Mount St. Joseph, accredited in Pennsylvania 1928-1929; Villa Madonna, Kentucky, 1929; and Mary Manse and Ursuline College, Ohio, the former at an unspecified date and the latter in 1923.[15] Fontbonne and Maryville College of the Sacred Heart were accredited as members of the Corporate Colleges of St. Louis University. Absent from the listing was the country's only Catholic college for African Americans, Xavier University of New Orleans, begun by Mother Katherine Drexel as a teachers' college in 1915 and chartered as a four-year college in 1925.

Issues of quality in these and the many Catholic women's colleges of later foundation, especially the 49 motherhouse normal schools established in the 1955-65 decade, are capably addressed in Oates' recent essays.[16]

Clearly, very few of the last named grouping merited the title of liberal arts colleges; only three ultimately gained regional accreditation. Successful completion of accreditation processes offers a valuable criterion of quality. Still, one's conclusions on this matter would be greatly enhanced by comparative studies, woefully inadequate at this time, of faculty qualifications, curricula, library and other academic resources, endowment, and alumnae achievement.[17] The minimal standards upheld by accrediting agencies were exceeded by many of the pre-1930 foundations, and the few post-1930 institutions whose faculty, curricula, and student bodies marked them as superior colleges. Women as administrators and faculty members enjoyed opportunities unequaled in any other segment of the United States system of higher education. The degree of access to an affordable post-secondary education by far exceeded that offered to women by other private co-educational or single-sex colleges throughout the period under consideration, an accessibility made possible the "living endowment" of the contributed services of women religious. First generation college goers, and racial and ethnic minority women have been exceptionally well served by Catholic women's colleges.

If today's demographic and competitive trends have forced closure or a co-educational option on some,[18] the 47 remaining Catholic colleges for women exhibit a dynamic spirit informed by commitment to women in the setting judged most conducive to the realization of their potential as human beings — that of a single-sex college totally dedicated to their higher education.

FOOTNOTES

1. Barbara Misner, SCSC, *Highly Respectable and Accomplished Women Religious, 1790-1850* (Boston: Garland, 1987), recounts the history and educational initiatives of the country's first seven congregations of women religious.

2. Mary Brewer, *Nuns and the Education of American Catholic Women, 1860-1920* (Chicago: Loyola, 1987), Tables 2 and 3, p. 15 derives the figures from the admittedly incomplete Catholic Directories 1840-1910 and a variety of supplementary sources.

3. This phase of the women's college movement promises to be developed in Philip Gleason's comprehensive history of Catholic colleges and universities tentatively entitled *Contending with Modernity*; I am grateful to Professor Gleason for an advance draft of chapter two, "A New Beginning: Catholic Colleges, 1890-1930."

4. Catholic Educational Association Standardization Commission's 1926 summary, as compiled in Gleason, *op cit.*, Table 2.

5. A trend traced and documented by Mary J. Oates, CSJ, "Professional Preparation of Parochial School Teachers, 1870-1940," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 12 (January, 1984) 60 - 72.

6. *Socialism and Christianity* (New York: Benziger, 1905) 178- 179; Stang allied himself completely with the conservative view of woman as an idealized queen of the home: see the lead chapter in Karen M. Kennelly, CSJ, *American Catholic Women: A Historical Exploration* (New York: Macmillan, 1989).

7. *North-Western Chronicle*, XXV:21 (April 10, 1891) 4.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Ireland to McGroarty, correspondence cited in Sister Helen Louise Nugent, *Sister Julia* (New York: Benziger, 1928) 285.

10. The address appears under the title of "Ideals" in *Education and the Higher Life* (Chicago: McClurg, 1890) 24-26.

11. Quotation from "Woman and the Christian Religion," in *Socialism and Labor and Other Arguments* (Chicago: McClurg, 1902) 116. Although Cardinal Gibbons seldom aired his views publicly, his benevolent patronage of higher education efforts on behalf of women, specifically relating to Notre Dame College in Baltimore and Trinity, should be noted.

14

12. Congregational and college histories yield some material in this regard; see also Sister Angela Elizabeth Keenan, *Three Against the Wind* (Maryland: Westminster, 1973) on the founders of Trinity; Karen M. Kennelly, CSJ, "Mary Molloy: Woman's College Founder," in *Women of Minnesota, Selected Biographical Essays* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1977) 116-135; and by the same author "The Dynamic Sister Antonia and the College of St. Catherine," *Ramsey County History*, 14:1 (Fall/winter, 1978) 3-18. The Molloy essay is anthologized in Mary J. Oates, *Higher Education for Catholic Women: An Historical Anthology* (New York: Garland, 1987).

13. The Reverend P.F. O'Brien, St. Catherine's Day Address, November 25, 1906, printed in the college literary magazine *Ariston* 1:2 (winter, 1906) 4.

14. Other Catholic colleges and universities remained closed to women except for summer sessions at Marquette (1909—) and at the Catholic University of America (1911—). The irony of religious women, responsible for most of the teaching of religion and catechizing in U.S. society, being excluded from graduate studies in theology did not escape Sister Madeleva Wolff whose concern over this deprivation led her to introduce graduate programs in theology at St. Mary's, South Bend, in the early 1940's.

15. Mary Mariella Bowler, *A History of Catholic Colleges for Women in the United States of America* (Washington, DC: Catholic University, 1933) lists a trio of CEA accredited teachers' colleges in Ohio as of 1930: the Sisters College of Cleveland; Teachers' College of the Atheneaum of Ohio; and Teachers' College of St. John's University. She omits mention (Appendix pp. 126-132) of other accredited normal schools such as Mt. St. Joseph Teachers' College founded by the Sisters of St. Joseph of Buffalo in 1925, accredited in 1928 by New York State, and conferring the baccalaureate degree by 1938. Very early normal schools such as Saint Catherine's Normal Institute, founded in 1875 in Baltimore by the Holy Cross Sisters, are excluded by her methodology.

16. Oates, *Catholic Colleges for Women, op. cit.*, citing Sister M. Adele Francis Gorman, OSF, In Defense of the Four-Year Catholic women's College," *Catholic Education Review* 63 (September, 1965) 372.

17. Such studies are woefully lacking. In addition to citations of published material in Oates, *Catholic Colleges for Women*, see the provocative essay by Abigail Quigley McCarthy, "A Luminous Minority," (Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities, January, 1985); and chapters by Mary Ewens, OP, and Mary Oates in *American Catholic Women, op. cit.*.

18. Most recently, the College of St. Teresa in Winona, Minnesota, and Marymount College in Salina, Kansas, both due to close at the end of the 1988-1989 academic year.

A Weight to Our Establishment: Georgetown University and the Republic

R. Emmet Curran, SJ

This year Georgetown is celebrating its bicentennial along with the Federal Government. That Georgetown claims 1789 as its founding date, underscores the special relationship it has seen itself having with the republic in whose capital city it is located. The claim appears to have arisen from a mistake in the 1870s about the date of the construction of the first building on campus. But by 1889, the first time in which the university celebrated its beginnings, the symbolic value of 1789 had become all too obvious, however dubious its connection with Georgetown's origin.[1] It made the university as old as the republic and the hierarchical church in the United States. This special connection to church and state, especially to the latter, was a theme repeatedly stressed during the three day centennial celebration.

The inscription on a banner on the west wall of Healy Hall proclaimed Georgetown's unique link with the Republic; *Euge Venerabilia Mater Sapientum Nutrix Tu Sola Inter Omnes Vixisti Patriae Annos Vivas Valeas Vincas.*" "Congratulations, venerable mother and nurse of sages! You alone, among the many, have lived since the nation's birth. Live on, prosper, and prevail." Conde Pallen's Centennial Ode echoed it, if more floridly,

> Around thy cradle blew the trumpet blast
> Of victory, when Liberty at last
> Burst the chains that held her bound
> And all the land leaped at the glorious sound,
> And a nation sprang to life
> From the dragon jaws of strife,
> Strong-limbed and beautiful in power
> Through mighty wrestling in that heavy hour!

The Centennial Oration by Martin Morris of the Law Faculty developed it further. "One hundred years ago... when Washington, Franklin, Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison and Robert Morris, our seven wise men... were laying deep and strong the foundations of our Federal union — in that same year the foundations also were laid of this Republic of the Intellect by one who had participated with the framers of the Federal Constitution in that heroic struggle for human independence — not merely for American independence, but for the independence of mankind...."[2]

John Carroll was the link, not only to the republic, but to the hierarchical church as well, becoming the first bishop in 1789. As another banner implied, Carroll had founded Georgetown at the very creation of the institutional American Church in order that it might grow in wisdom and truth in a republic that depended for its survival on a free and educated citizenry.

The three gold medals that were awarded to mark the centennial underscored the connection between Georgetown, Carroll, church and republic. One went to Grover Cleveland as President of the United States, one to Cardinal Gibbons as the archbishop of the premier see of Baltimore, and one to the historian John Gilmary Shea, for his life of Archbishop Carroll.

That Carroll had founded his school in the wake of the American Revolution was no accident. The revolution set off a wave of college foundings, some 23 between 1782 and 1800. If sovereignty was now in the people, the only hope for the success of the republic was in an enlightened citizenry. Most of the new colleges were connected with Protestant denominations, with the Presbyterians the most involved. For Catholics, the religious liberty that the revolution had occasioned made possible the very opening of a college. No Catholic leader better realized the opportunities that the revolution had created than did John Carroll. Education became an integral part for Carroll's plan for a republic church, schools that would reflect their catholic heritage and republican environment in giving "consistency to our religious views in this country."[3]

But if Carroll's academy found itself on the doorstep of the federal capital, it was more the result of serendipity than divination. As Carroll admitted in 1791 to his English friend, Charles Plowden, when Congress had finally decided to locate the permanent capital somewhere on the Potomac, he had not really been thinking of the possibility when he had proposed Georgetown as the location for the academy in 1786, although Georgetown at that time was one of the chief bidders for the federal government. In the circular that he wrote

Father Curran is an associate professor of history at Georgetown University.

in 1787 to attract funding for his academy, Carroll listed three principal reasons for the choice of Georgetown: "Salubrity of Air, Convenience of Communication and Cheapness of Living." Prices in Georgetown (believe it or not) were relatively cheap, certainly in comparison to Baltimore or Philadelphia. Given Carroll's lack of money, this was no mean consideration. The port village of Georgetown was well situated enough to afford "convenience of communication," although not as central as Baltimore. As for its salubrious air, the hilltop setting outside of town seemed especially healthy in a wooded area cooled by Potomac breezes. Georgetown in fact was the first of many schools to choose such an elevated setting. Health may have been the primary reason but image was another. The "College on the Hill" became a common nineteenth century ideal. For Carroll, the school, like Winthrop's Boston, was to have a life larger than its own. And there was another reason, unspoken, but real enough. Georgetown had become the urban center of the Catholic gentry as they moved up from Southern Maryland. Baltimore counted relatively few Catholics, only about 7% of the population, and most of them were working class, hardly the group to support an educational institution.

But if Carroll had given little thought to geopolitical possibilities, he instantly recognized that the federal presence would, as he put it, "give a weight to our establishment."[4] And he was reasonably sure that commissioners appointed by Congress would choose a spot along the Potomac within the tidewater, which would put it either in Georgetown, or what would be even better, within four miles of it. As it turned out, the site the commissioners chose matched his wish perfectly. Of course, it didn't hurt that his brother, Daniel, was one of the commissioners. At any rate, the location of the new capital next to Georgetown greatly confirmed Bishop Carroll's ambition to have an American Catholic college that would rival any school in the country.

In the last year of Carroll's life, 1815, Georgetown became the first school to receive a federal charter. Despite his ambitions for the institution, Carroll had made no earlier attempt to secure a charter, either from the state of Maryland or the federal government. In the late eighteenth century, to receive a charter was to place a public character on the institution and make it dependent on the chartering authority. Carroll had seen blatant instances of governments intruding to control colleges in Pennsylvania and Virginia. By 1815 there had been significant shift in the relationship between college and state. A college was no longer regarded as an arm of the state for the training of a provincial elite and the safeguarding of public character, but as a form of private enterprise, as independent as any commercial corporation. This new characterization of the college was given classical legal definition in *The Trustees of Dartmouth College versus Woodward* (1819) when Chief Justice Marshall declared that the college was a private foundation, whose charter the state legislature could not revoke or alter at will.[5] A charter had become, not a threat to a university's independence, but a safeguard for its integrity.

Taking advantage of the several congressmen who had had sons in the college, President John Grassi applied for a charter in order to confer academic degrees as well as to prevent the possibility that the government might someday force it to become part of some nonsectarian or other sectarian university. And there was the special circumstance of the very first student of the school, William Gaston, being a member of the House of Representatives from North Carolina. Gaston shepherded the petition through the Congress and President James Madison signed the charter on March 1, 1815.

By 1820 Father Grassi had assembled at Georgetown a faculty of republican Catholic intellectuals, such as Carroll had envisioned for his school a generation earlier: Benedict Fenwick, James Wallace, Roger Baxter, and Thomas Levins. This group of Anglo-Americans was very intent on fostering a curriculum and discipline that would be consistent with the republican society in which they lived. They introduced science and modern literature, and in may ways attempted to take advantage of the federal presence. Wallace and Grassi, both gifted astronomers, were even envisioning the development of a national observatory at Georgetown. But from the reestablishment of the Jesuits in the United States in 1805, there was a heavy influx of members of the Society from the continent, most of whom (Grassi was an important exception) were deeply suspicious of the republican institutions and principles that America epitomized. As one Belgian Jesuit, subsequently to become briefly president of Georgetown, observed in 1823: the Americans "have curious principles: they wish for revolutions, adopt the condemned proposition: *that the Sovereignty resides essentially in the people.* They approve murder, blood shed, just as the Jacobins did in France. . . .[6] Little wonder that such continental Jesuits tended to isolate themselves and their students from that larger society.

Before the end of the 1820s, continental superiors had taken over the college and scattered Grassi's republican faculty. By 1830 a new group of Irish and Anglo-American Jesuits, Roman trained, controlled the college. William McSherry, Thomas Mulledy, and James Ryder were president for most of the next twenty years. From the beginning, Georgetown, unlike virtually all schools in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was a national, indeed international, school. In its first decade alone nearly one-fifth of the students came from outside the United States, with the West Indies supplying some forty students. Once the federal government moved to the new Washington City,

Georgetown began a long tradition of educating the sons of diplomats and ministers stationed here, not to mention those of many congressmen, senators, and even presidents. From 1790 to 1870, about six per cent of the students came from outside the United States, two thirds of them from Latin America (some 190 students) and the other third split equally between Canada and Europe. Of some 1088 students whose fathers' occupations we know, 212 or over one fifth of them were connected with the federal government or were foreign diplomats. The sons of several presidents, including Martin Van Buren, John Tyler, and Andrew Johnson, attended the college.

Whether measured by students, visits between campus and capitol, or scientific cooperation, the four decades in the middle of the nineteenth century marked a high point in the relations between the college and the federal government. Washington's Birthday and Independence Day, the high feasts of the civil religion of antebellum America, were two of the most sacred days of the year at the college. Congressional forays became clinics for *eloquentia perfecta*. Commencements drew presidents and congressmen, generals and justices to the campus.

The academic revival that the college experienced during this period came mainly from a new intellectual migration that Georgetown was a beneficiary of, the influx of Italians, Germans, and Swiss after the revolutions of 1848. Immigrants like Angelo Secchi, the father of astrophysics, and Benedict Sestini were responsible for the significant contributions to astronomy that Georgetown made through its observatory in the second half of the century. The continental Jesuits played an important role in the intellectual life of Georgetown, in the classroom and in the observatory. But they weakened, at the very least, the attempt to translate Carroll's vision of an American Catholic republican institution of higher education giving "consistency to our religious views" to the larger society, of showing the compatibility, indeed the ideal symbiosis between Catholicism and American culture, in a suburb of the capital city of the United States. Eventually the Europeans set the intellectual life of American Jesuits at Georgetown and elsewhere in a much more conservative direction. By 1870 the Maryland provincial could write that events in Europe had "made ultramontanes of all of us here who have any good within."[7]

In the last three decades of the century, two presidents, Patrick Healy and Joseph Havens Richards, attempted to make Georgetown a university worth the name. The magnificent Flemish Romanesque structure that Healy broke his health in building was his statement that Georgetown was aspiring to be nothing less than a great university in a national city, an American Louvain. But by the 1880's, countervailing forces proved stronger than this vision. The Catholic University of America was one such force. Another was the shift of the center of American Jesuit gravity, at least in the eastern part of the United States, from Washington to New York City. Even within the Society of Jesus, the thought grew that if there was to be an American Louvain, it was to be in New York, the intellectual capital of the country. By the early part of this century, the Jesuit Father General was pursuing a plan to make Fordham the "primary" Jesuit university in the United States, housing not only an outstanding faculty and programs in both graduate and undergraduate studies, but also intellectual journals that would speak to the high and middle culture.

But if the story of the nineteenth century is finally one of Georgetown's decline as a unique American Catholic institution, the story does not end there. Roman plans seldom, if ever, controlled American reality in the way intended. In 1919 President John Creeden, in response to the appeals of alumni and government officials, founded the School of Foreign Service in what one can only term the spirit of local initiative. Rome found out about it after the fact. The new school was a bold attempt to take advantage of the Washington connection and provide a unique contribution not only to the federal government but indeed the international community. The twentieth century for Georgetown would mean, among other things, rediscovering what it is to be a Catholic university in Washington, and accepting the challenge to serve both church and republic, to prepare citizens for the two realms, to incarnate in a much more complex age Carroll's vision of an institution that in its own autonomous way could be fully at home in each.

NOTES

1. Historically there was little notable about 1789. The decision to begin the academy was made in 1786. The first construction began in 1788. The first student arrived in 1791 and classes began in 1792. The only thing of note that occurred in 1789 was the acquisition of the deed of the property upon which John Carroll had already begun to build.

2. John Gilmary Shea, *History of Georgetown College: Memorial of the First Centenary* (Washington, 1891), 339, 365, 370-371.

3. Carroll to Plowden, December 15, 1785, in Thomas O'Brien Hanley, SJ, ed. *The John Carroll Papers* (Notre Dame, 1976), I, 198.

4. Carroll to Plowden, White-Marsh, Feb. 3, 1791, in *CP*, I,490.

5. Jurgen Herbst, *From Crisis to Crisis: American College Government*, 1636-1891 (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England, 1982), 232–233.

6. Maryland Province Archives 206 R 22 Beschter to Dzierozynski, Baltimore, December 17, 1823.

Reflections: The Importance of the International in Catholic Higher Education

Theodore M. Hesburgh CSC

When I first went to college in 1934, the only element of the international in my thoughts and studies was Latin and Greek. Three years later, when I went to Rome to study at the Gregorian University, suddenly everything was international, the church (I saw the first black African Bishop consecrated in St. Peter's by Pius XI), the student body which contained every nationality and race on earth, our communications which were suddenly in six different languages, and the main characters, the pope, Mussolini, Hitler, and Chamberlain.

Three years later, all that abruptly ended when the blitzkrieg sent us home. However, for the next five years, we heard of wartime battles in places we had never imagined, Guadalcanal, Tarawa, El Alamein, Tobruk, Stalingrad, and Kasserine.

In the years that followed, international became the name of the game as I served on the board of the Institute of International Education, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Overseas Development Council, the International Federation of Catholic Universities, and a host of other international associations.

For the last five years, I have met with the Pontifical Council on Culture which was inaugurated by Pope John Paul II to seek out the values of fourteen world cultures and to plumb their relationship to the Gospel in today's world.

After retiring from the presidency of Notre Dame last year, I decided to focus efforts on the development of five institutes that I had founded in recent years at the university. All of them represent values and concerns that should characterize the role of a modern Catholic university. All of them are international.

Taking them in the sequence of their founding, the first is the Ecumenical Institute for Theological Studies at Tantur, Jerusalem. This was begun in 1970 after five intensive years of planning by an international and ecumenical academic council. Over two thousand international and ecumenical students have been in residence at Tantur during the last eighteen years, promoting the idea of Pope Paul VI that there should be a place in Jerusalem, our common homeland, where Christians can live, study, and pray together, "that all might be one, as Thou Father in Me, and I in Thee, that all might be one in Us." Lately, we have extended that ecumenical dream to include the sons of Abraham, Jews, Muslims, and Christians. The current director of the Institute is a Paulist, Father Thomas Stransky.

The second institute began as a Civil Rights Center during the time of our domestic civil rights struggle. It was quite activist at first. Almost a million dollars later it ran out of money. Now it has been reactivated in a more studious and international mode under the direction of Professor of International Human Rights, Father William Lewers, CSC. Its new title is the Center for International Human Rights Studies. Its documentation is current and worldwide. It is also given to advocacy where this is effective, as it often is.

The third institute is the Kellogg Institute for International Studies which for the moment is concerned mainly with social, economic, and political development in Latin America. It is also studying comparative developments in Asia and Africa. The Kellogg is the best endowed of the institutes with more than fifteen million dollars. The executive director is Father Ernest Bartell, CSC.; the academic director is Dr. Guillermo O'Donnell of Argentina. They are assisted by Dr. Alejandro Foxley of Chile, Kellogg chair holder in International Development.

The fourth institute, directed by Governor John Gilligan of the Law faculty, is the Institute for International Peace Studies. This has the next largest endowment of about eight million dollars. This institute, like Kellogg, works closely with the Human Rights Institute and has faculty fellows from about twenty departments of the university. It also networks with a wide variety of international associations. The institute sponsors both graduate and undergraduate courses and an international yearlong graduate seminar for students from a dozen countries, including China,

Father Hesburgh is president emeritus of the University of Notre Dame.

Russia, England, France, the United States, Japan, India, Africa, and Latin America. The prevention of nuclear war, disarmament, conflict resolution, and world order are its main concerns.

The fifth institute also began recently as a domestic environmental, educational, and research laboratory at Notre Dame's 7,000 acre forest and lake reserve near Land O'Lakes, Wisconsin. Given the current international concern regarding acid rain, ozone depletion, and greenhouse effect, this institute's concerns will be increasingly global. The acting director is biology Professor Ronald Hellenthal.

When one considers the possible international concerns of a modern Catholic university, justice, peace, human rights, development, ecumenism, and ecology certainly stand out. They are all inter-related, as we are finding more and more in the work of the five institutes. Both the ecumenical and ecological institutes are minimally endowed and the human rights institute not at all as yet. Obtaining adequate funding for all will be part of my new task, even though I dislike that most of all. Well, retirement can't be all fun.

One last note. International studies needs visibility, since it is relatively new. Fortunately, we have funding for a new Center of International Studies right at the entrance of the campus. We are also hoping that our current international study programs in ten countries from Mexico to China will heighten student and faculty interest in the world at large.

It has been a long time since I first sailed to Europe from New York in 1937. Two million miles and 131 countries later, I am convinced that the provincial America and its colleges and universities of my youth have truly entered a new domain, as the globe has shrunk, and become increasingly interdependent and more challenging to all of us. I write these lines at 41,000 feet, en route to Moscow, having been in six other countries in the last ten days. Need I say more.

Adveniat regnum tuum, semper et *ubique*.

The Bicentennial History of the Catholic Church in the United States

Patrick H. Samway, SJ

The National Conference of Catholic Bishops, with a generous grant from the Knights of Columbus, has recently authorized the publication of six volumes, all handsomely produced and marketed by Macmillan, that together present a bicentennial history of the Catholic Church in the United States. Each of the books, which struggle against exclusivism based on race, ethnicity or gender, was written or edited by a distinguished church historian. Read as a group, these books, under the general editorship of Christopher J. Kauffman, editor of the respected journal *U.S. Catholic Historian* and author of *Tradition and Transformation in Catholic Culture: The Priests of Saint Sulpice in the United States from 1791 to the Present* and *Faith and Fraternalism*, give a probing, synthetic view of the problems and developments, explored over the years by John Gilmary Shea, Peter Guilday, Theodore Maynard, Thomas McAvoy, Msgr. John Tracy Ellis, James Hennesey, SJ, and Jay P. Dolan, that have taken place in the Catholic Church in the United States since the early days of Federalism and the appointment in 1789 of John Carroll of Baltimore as the first Roman Catholic bishop for the United States of American.

In his general introduction, Kauffman paints with wide strokes the history of the Catholic presence in the United States: "Throughout these volumes one reads about the persistent need for Catholics to forge their religious identities within the ethos of the new nation. In its origins the nation tended toward enlightenment and toleration; Catholics in Maryland and Pennsylvania reflected an open cosmopolitanism symbolized by the leadership of John Carroll. There was a conscious effort to embrace religious liberty and pluralism as positive factors; a denominational civility characterized the era. Subsequently, periodic outbursts of militant anti-Catholicism and nativism during the periods of immigration led Catholics to identify their loyalty to the United States in terms of good citizenship, but they retreated from the culture into ethnic enclaves; these were the preservationists who nurtured their Old World cultures in defense against this hostility. Isaac Hecker and the Americanists, such as John Ireland, forged a transformationist identity, one that was derived from the Carroll era and was based upon the spiritual compatibility of Catholicism and American culture."

In *Patterns of Episcopal Leadership*, edited by Gerald Fogarty, SJ, 14 U.S. church historians examine key clerics — some of them quite colorful and controversial — beginning with those influential during the period of Anglo-French domination (John Carroll, Louis William DuBourg, Benedict Joseph Flaget, John England) through the period of the immigrant church (John Baptist Purcell, Martin John Spalding, James Gibbons, John Ireland and Michael Corrigan), to the first half of the 20th century (William O'Connell, Patrick W. Riordan, James Clement Kelley, George William Mundelein, John Patrick Cody, Francis J. Spellman and Paul J. Hallinan) The biographical portraits of these men reveal not only their administrative styles, but their own personal problems as they had to deal with issues of national and international importance. Such a view from the top allows the reader to see how the authoritative church in the United States reacted to the pressures and problems presented by both civic leaders and Vatican officials.

In *Living Stones: The History and Structure of Catholic Spiritual Life in the United States*, Joseph P. Chinnici, OFM, discusses under five headings the personalities and topics that pertain to an understanding of Catholic prayer life in this country: 1) "An Enlightenment Synthesis, 1776-1815," which embraces religious pluralism, nature and grace, the ecclesiological dimensions of piety, as well as the sentiments and affections of Jesus; 2) "The Immigrant Vision, 1830-66," which contains discussions of Christ, the person and the church, the triumph of the purgative way and the immigrant vision; 3) "The Spirituality of Americanism, 1866-1900," which analyzes notions of conversion and the mission of the United States, piety, asceticism, the mystery of the

---

Father Samway is literary editor of America. *This review originally appeared in* America, *volume 160, April 15, 1989, and is reprinted with permission of America Press, Inc., 106 West 56th Street, New York, NY 10019.* *1989. All Rights Reserved.*

incarnation, the crisis of Americanism and the structures of Catholic spiritual life; 4) "A Fractured Inheritance, 1900-30," which deals with spirituality and social reform, Catholic Action and the eucharist as a symbol of the church, and 5) "Seedbed of Reform, 1930-65," which contains moving portraits of Virgil Michael, Dorothy Day, James Keller and Thomas Merton. In looking at a church built of "living stones," Father Chinnici traces the self-identity of Catholics in the United States, their experiences of society, their convictions about the institutional church, their devotional lives, their attitudes toward asceticism and Christ — all bound together as a cultural whole in changing patterns of Catholic belief and practice.

Catholic Intellectual Life in America: A Historical Study of Persons and Movements, by Margaret Mary Reher, deals with problems of the Enlightenment and episcopal leadership, the contributions of Orestes Brownson and Isaac Hecker, the development and growth of The Catholic University of America and Georgetown University, Americanism, Modernist scholarship, Progressive social thought and the more contemporary path to pluralism as reflected in the research and writings of Archbishop Fulton J. Sheen, Gustave Weigel, SJ, and John Courtney Murray, SJ. In this work, Professor Reher admirably tracks the intersections of various intellectual movements and social phenomena as they pertain to the history of the U.S. Catholic Church.

Dolores Liptak, RSM, in *Immigrants and Their Church*, traces the various waves of Catholics seeking refuge in the United States over a 200-year period. With each new immigrant wave, the cultural and religious boundaries of the ecclesiastical community underwent dramatic changes. Dealing first with the identification and structure of the immigrant church, Sister Liptak shows how the Irish, the Germans, the Polish, the French-Canadians, and African-American and Hispanic Catholics have altered the physical, social and spiritual complexion of the church in this country. Above all, she deals with the interplay of ethnic groups and the affective forms of worship they brought with them, the roles the immigrant clergy had in building up the church and the implication that a church of mixed backgrounds has for the future growth of the universal church.

In *Public Catholicism*, David O'Brien studies with his characteristic insight the public nature of the U.S. Catholic Church under the historical and social rubrics of its being republican, immigrant, industrial, liberal, reform, social, American. He concludes with a discussion of the modern styles of public Catholicism. In general, Professor O'Brien's focus is to investigate the ways in which the U.S. Catholic Church helped to shape, directly and indirectly, public policy as it came to terms with developing democratic institutions and programs. He is concerned, among other things, to account for the labor movement, anti-Communism and the host of tricky, emerging questions involving church and state. As Professor O'Brien notes: "All phases of religious activity draw from and in turn influence the larger culture: issues of church and state and of religion and politics reflect deeper problems of the historicity and humanity of those who belong to the church, from its most humble communicants to its most powerful bishops."

In *American Catholic Women: A Historical Exploration*, edited by Karen Kennelly, CSJ, four religious women, two laywomen and one layman present a variety of approaches to the topic that is a central concern to contemporary U.S. Roman Catholicism. Their essays on the ideals of U.S. womanhood, women in the convent, Catholic domesticity from 1860-1960, the question of equality, the positions taken by reformers and activists and the impact of Catholic feminism on U.S. Catholic women as experienced by radical trade unionists, feminine models of domesticity, political suffragettes and women religious dissenters seeking ordination reveal that, in a church where all the priests and hierarchy are male, a patchwork quilt of thought embodying knowledge and sensitive reflection best helps an understanding of complicated, ongoing issues that defy easy answers. Moreover, this volume shows that the U.S. bishops encourage ground-breaking analyses of feminist issues — something that they have been criticized for avoiding.

Many people in the Catholic Church in the United States have found it difficult to adjust to the changes that have taken place in the last 25 years since the heady years of Vatican II. What these volumes can do is to show that the church is not making changes in some arbitrary fashion, but that, as it has done since the installation of Bishop John Carroll, it copes with the demands it places upon itself as it undergoes a dynamic process of intellectual maturation and spiritual growth.

CATHOLIC HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE AMERICAN CONTEXT

JANUARY 31 — FEBRUARY 1, 1989

Hyatt Regency on Capital Hill, Washington, D.C.

Bicentennial of the American Church

ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

ANNUAL MEETING

CATHOLIC HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE AMERICAN CONTEXT

NOTE

The following papers were presented at the ACCU 1989 Annual Meeting in Washington, DC. Father William J. Byron delivered the keynote address and was responded to by Dr. James Annarelli and Father James L. Heft. The eighth Theodore M. Hesburgh Award for outstanding contribution to Catholic higher education was presented to Sister Sally M. Furay of the University of San Diego.

Disciplined Inquiry: A Catholic Reflection on Academic Freedom

William J. Byron, SJ

The notion of academic freedom applies to those conditions or circumstances wherein a structured teaching-learning transaction can take place. Academic freedom resides in persons — teachers and learners — who meet in a setting designed to foster disciplined inquiry. What happens there is the exploration and communication of knowledge.

Sometimes no one is there but the investigator, the lone researcher seeking further understanding of an identifiable dimension of truth. Academic freedom protects the isolated investigator.

Sometimes many people are present, often as students receiving instruction, frequently as coinvestigators searching for new understandings. Academic freedom protects all participants in any given teaching-learning transaction.

Why have academic freedom? To protect the disciplined inquirer from the unwelcome whims or reprisals of powerful others who may disagree with his or her views. That is quite different, of course, from the welcome outcome of having one's views displaced by better evidence or sounder reasoning. Academic freedom provides a needed measure of employment security to professionals whose ideas might displease their academic employers. It also is intended to assure students access to all legitimate fonts of knowledge. Intellectual discovery and growth in understanding prosper in non-coercive environments. Academic freedom guarantees such an environment to teachers and learners.

In any academic context there are limits on academic freedom. First is the limit of truth itself. Teachers are not free to profess falsehood. Next is the limit imposed by the canons and associated competencies the community of scholars expects to find in a given academic discipline. Disciplined inquiry implies, first of all responsible inquiry and then competent communication of the results of inquiry. Another limit on academic freedom is human prudence, especially with respect to the communication of truths that would not be appropriately communicated in certain circumstances or to members of certain age groups. These limits apply and are acknowledged to belong wherever the academy functions.

The question facing Catholic colleges and universities today looks to freedom of inquiry and communication of theological knowledge on a Catholic campus in light of the institution's relationship, however indirect, to a hierarchical authoritarian church. Is there an ecclesial limit on academic freedom? Can there be an acceptable constraint on investigation, but, more importantly, on communication of truth on a Catholic campus because of the church-relationship? Moreover, what happens to academic freedom when a question of truth or error is decided outside the academy?

I think there can be and is an ecclesial limit on academic freedom. And I think this ecclesial limit need not violate academic freedom so long as a church-related institution, whether Catholic or not, understands itself to be also faith-related and faith, on that campus, is shared by many and respected by all. "Ecclesial" is a word distinct from but not unrelated to "ecclesiastical"; it is, however, a broader term. "Ecclesial" refers to an assembly, a community of believers, the church understood as a people of God, the faith community. "Ecclesiastical" refers to structure and governance within the faith community.

Faith, of course, is a gift of God freely accepted by the believing person. Acceptance of limits associated with religious faith suggests to me not a denial of freedom but the exercise of freedom, the freedom of religious commitment.

If faith is first, last and always a gift — and Catholic theology is unambiguous in so describing it — language regarding the communication of an understanding of faith must be used with care lest "teaching the faith" be thought of in images of transfusion or injection. Faith, the ineffable gift that draws one into contact with a God of mystery, can nonetheless, and up to a point, be explained. At least the "tenets" of a faith community — those formulations of religious truth which are "held" by members of a faith community — can be articulated

---

Father Byron is president of The Catholic University of America. This is the 1989 Delta Epsilon Sigma Lecture, delivered at the ACCU annual meeting in Washington, DC, at the Hyatt Regency Hotel on February 1, 1989.

in their present stage of development, located in their scriptural foundations, and analyzed at different stages of historical controversy, philosophical expression and official ecclesiastical formulation.

Reflection on past understandings is only part of the work of a theologian. Development of new and deeper understandings is a special responsibility. This is the professional and scientific expression of *fides quaerens intellectum* for theologians in the church. The ecclesial limit on this exercise of human understanding in the church is continuity with the tradition of the church. The tradition, however, is a living and growing reality. Hence the ecclesial limit on a theologian's academic freedom is more viaduct than retaining wall. It is, in any case and by whatever metaphor, a limiting factor.

Discontinuity would mean, by definition, a break of greater or lesser proportions from the tradition, a separation from the faith community. Hence the development of new, better and deeper understandings can always expect to confront an ecclesial limit, a protective layer or buffer zone intended to prevent breaks. This need not be an insurmountable barrier to inquiry nor a clamp on communication. Instead it can serve to remind the communicator that the teaching of Catholic theology is not communication only, but communion with the community of faith his or her theology is intended to serve. That faith community, in the case of Roman Catholicism, is organized hierarchically with clear lines of authority.

It is consistent with Catholic principles to have ecclesiastical authority exercised in a way that "authors " — in the sense of encouraging, enabling and drawing out — the creative potential of theologians in the church, encouraging the exploration of ideas and fostering the development of what will eventually become official Catholic doctrine. Such "authorship" on the part of the church authorities would always look to continuity with the tradition. Continuity will function as the ecclesial limit on the academic freedom of theologians in the church. Another way of stating this limit is to describe it as fidelity to and respect for the teaching authority of the church.

Who is to decide whether a given development represents a continuous advance of tradition or a discontinuous break? Who is to determine whether a Catholic theologian is in or out of communion with the teaching church in his or her efforts to advance the tradition? And how are these judgments to find their proper place within the Catholic college or university, thus protecting the institution's autonomy and the professor's integrity as a free academic working within appropriate limits? The answer to this last question presupposes an answer to the question of Catholic identity: what, in fact, makes a university or college Catholic?

I think theologians and bishops should examine together questions of continuity or break; then the bishops should decide. I think theologians and bishops should examine together whether or not a theologian is in or out of communion with the teaching church when the theologian offers theories or theses intended to advance the tradition. The formal determination remains the province of the bishop. If the final determination is, in fact, the province of the bishop, how can the institution where that theologian works be said to be autonomous? By virtue of the identity it has chosen for itself. It has a freely chosen Catholic character expressed in its mission statement and subscribed to by the campus community. The internalization of the Catholic identity includes institutional acceptance of all things Catholic as congenial to the range of inquiry on campus, and nothing Catholic is viewed as foreign to the enterprise. The range of interest goes far beyond the Catholic, of course, but the point to note is that nothing Catholic is excluded. The assertion of institutional autonomy in the face of an ecclesial limit on academic freedom is, therefore, no denial of academic freedom. It simply points to an identity — internal, freely chosen, and accepted by all in the campus community (as distinguished from the broader faith community) — which acknowledges a role for church authority in doctrinal matters. Those who choose not to accept, or no longer subscribe to the Catholic identity of the institution do not disqualify themselves from the faith community, but they do separate themselves from identification with the campus community. To identify with an institution without accepting that institution's self-proclaimed identity makes no sense. To proclaim a Catholic identity without accepting an ecclesial limit on theological exploration and communication is to misunderstand not only the nature of church-relatedness, but also the idea of a university and the meaning of academic freedom. Academic freedom can be limited without being violated.

In his preface to *The Idea of a University*, John Henry Newman noted that "when the Church founds a university, she is not cherishing talent, genius, or knowledge, for their own sake, but for the sake of her children, with a view to their spiritual welfare and their religious influence and usefulness, with the object of training them to fill their respective posts in life better, and of making them more intelligent, capable, active members of society" (p. 5; all references will be to the Loyola University of Chicago Press edition, 1927, re-issued in 1987).

In the first of his nine "Discourses" on "University Teaching" (for all practical purposes, Chapter One in Part One of *The Idea of a University*), Newman comments on the role of ecclesiastical authority in the establishment of a Catholic university. "Ecclesiastical authority, not argument, is the supreme rule and the appropriate guide for Catholics in matters of religion. It has always the right to interpose, and sometimes, in the conflict of parties and opinions, it is called on to exercise that right.

It has lately exercised it in our own instance: it has interposed in favor of a pure university system for Catholic youth . . . . (T)he decision proceeds, not simply from the Bishops of Ireland, great as their authority is, but the highest authority on earth, from the Chair of St. Peter." To that, Newman adds: "Moreover, such a decision not only demands our submission, but has a claim upon our trust" (p. 28). And the basis for this trust? "It is the decision of the Holy See; St. Peter has spoken, it is he who has enjoined that which seems to us so unpromising. He has spoken, and has a claim on us to trust him" (p. 30).

This view may seem quaint, even naive, to the present-day reader who turns to Newman with a wide open mind and the best of will. But it helps to explain why Newman had no hesitation in stating that "ecclesiastical authority, not argument, is the supreme rule and the appropriate guide for Catholics in matters of religion." Nor does Newman claim here that the pope is always right, just that the Catholic will never go wrong by trusting him.

It would be safe to presume that Newman's evident respect and trust of the church's influence relative to the founding of a university would extend to a special role for the church in the theological life of the university. Much later in his book, in a chapter on "Duties of the Church Towards Knowledge," he writes: "(T)he Church has no call to watch over and protect Science; but towards Theology she has a distinct duty: it is one of the special trusts committed to her keeping. Where Theology is, there she must be; and if a university cannot fulfill its name and office without the recognition of Revealed Truth [a point argued earlier in the book], she must be there to see that it is a *bona fide* recognition, sincerely made and consistently acted on" (p. 246).

Those who dismiss the notion of a Catholic university as a contradiction in terms will be relieved perhaps to note that the great theoretician of Catholic higher education assigns a "watch over" function — quite literally, an *epi-scopus* or "episcopal" role — to the church only in the area of theology. They might wonder how that episcopal role can be implemented without impinging on the autonomy of the university, and that question raises again the issue of identity. Being open to all things Catholic (one way of expressing Catholic identity) means being open to episcopal oversight in the area of theology.

Without appearing to be excessively defensive, and certainly without adopting an offensive attack as the best defensive measure, the "contradiction-in-terms" Catholic university might fairly ask its secular counterparts how they can claim university status — *Studium Generale*, or "School of Universal Learning" would be Newman's designation — if their disciplined inquiry makes no systematic pursuit of revealed truth. Some would reply that they are simply not interested in theology. Others would point to ongoing teaching and research in religious studies taking place on their campuses. For a variety of reasons — legal on the part of state universities, preference in the independent sector — many universities will not conduct disciplined inquiry and communication of religious truth with fidelity to any particular faith tradition. There, of course, is the opening the church-related college or university wants to fill.

Since no one thinks it strange to have state universities with identities drawn from geographic boundaries, with special service relationships to the citizens of their respective states, with openness to state influence, dependence on state funding, and daily challenges to their autonomy from outside pressures that threaten to translate influence into control, why should it be regarded as unusual to have private universities with church-related identities and relationships to a faith-community that parallel the public institutions' relationships to the civic community? It is, of course not unusual as the widespread presence of church-related higher education in the U.S., with its constitutional guarantee of the free exercise of religious commitment, attests. Both state-related and church-related universities will always need the protection of academic freedom against undue external influences. Both types of institutions will first, by virtue of their respective charters, have internalized control and vested it in a governing board. And both types can welcome or withstand external influence by exercising, as they wish, their chartered autonomy. Autonomy simply means that the governing board makes its own decisions, under its charter, in pursuit of its educational mission. And finally, all types of institutions of higher learning, not just those interested in theology, would be expected to provide the protection of academic freedom against undue internal influence, including undue influence from the governing board.

Why should those who think theology is integral to university life appear to be on the defensive in our day? Probably because of the dogmatism of science in contemporary higher education. "Scientists believe in science in the same way that the majority of Catholics believe in the Church, namely as Truth crystallized in an infallible collective opinion," wrote Simone Weil; "they contrive to believe this in spite of the continual changes in theory. In both cases it is through lack of faith in God." This biting comment is recorded by Robert Coles in *Simone Weil: A Modern Pilgrimage* (Addison-Wesley, 1987). "A Catholic directs his thought secondarily towards the truth, but primarily towards conformity with the Church's doctrine," argued Weil she then added: "A scientist does the same, only in this case there is no established doctrine but a collective opinion in the process of formation." And Robert Coles comments: "That collective opinion can be not only helpful and instructive to those anxious to learn more, but also an instrument of control, a means by which compliance is

exacted and disagreement punished." Sad to say, science has become the most emphatic expression of the extraordinarily secular tone of contemporary society.

I am not lamenting the existence of authorities — persons of superior intellect — in the scientific community; I wish we had more of them. Nor am I suggesting that there should be no authorities by virtue of intellect alone in the theological community. I wish we had more of them. I am lamenting the attitude, the kind of peer pressure that has emerged from the environment of physical and life sciences, that displays a bias against, or at least an indifference toward, the spiritual, the immaterial the religious and theological realities of life.

Neither physical science nor theology can presume to be free of pressures, influences, limits and controls within the academy. Both science and theology belong in the academy. Each depends on the other if it is to realize its full potential. Neither should underestimate the other's concern for objectivity and freedom from inappropriate control. And in considering the critique of Simone Weil, Catholics should note their companionship with scientists in her sweeping charge that both suffer from a lack of faith in God. Those who feel the impulse for control of Catholic theology should "walk humbly" as they attempt to see, in specific matters theological, just how God's authority is to be ascertained.

Secular academics might fairly invite religious educators, in the interest of preservation of the idea of a university, to keep a watchful eye on the line between influence and control as all universities must. And the church-related institutions, grateful for the opportunity to exist freely here in America, are quite willing to write control along with religious identity into their civil charters. Under their charters, control is exercised by a duly constituted board of trustees, which in all cases must respect both due process and academic freedom. Outside the charter, and from a variety of off-campus command posts, the impulse for control will probably always find the college or university campus a desirable target. That says a great deal about the importance of the idea which has evolved over the centuries into what we call a university. It is so important an idea that the church, the state, and various other entities sacrifice to make it their own and vie with one another to make their embodiment of the idea the best.

In Catholic circles, the impulse for control by ecclesiastical authorities focuses on theology, the central element of the institution's Catholic identity. Here again, Newman can be helpful. In fact, his entire chapter on "Christianity and Scientific Investigation" could well serve as a preamble to discussion between bishops and theologians once they find the right structure for joint participation in theological dialogue." (T)here must be great care taken to avoid scandal," writes Newman," or shocking the popular mind, or unsettling the weak; the association between truth and error being so strong in particular minds that it is impossible to weed them of the error without rooting up the wheat with it" (p. 450).

> I am not, then, supposing the scientific investigator (1) to be *coming into collision with dogma*; nor (2) venturing, by means of his investigations, upon any interpretation of *Scripture*, or upon other conclusion *in the matter of religion*; nor (3) of his teaching, even in his own science, religious paradoxes, when he should be investigating and proposing; nor (4) of his recklessly *scandalizing the weak*; but, these explanations being made, I still say that a scientific speculator or inquirer is not bound, in conducting his researches, to be every moment adjusting his course by the maxims of the schools or by popular traditions, or by those of any other science distinct from his own, or to be ever narrowly watching what those external sciences have to say to him, or to be determined to be edifying, or to be ever answering heretics and unbelievers; being confident, from the impulse of a generous faith, that, however his line of investigation may swerve now and then, and vary to and fro in its course, or threaten momentary collision or embarrassment with any other department of knowledge, theological or not, yet, if he lets it alone, it will be sure to come home, because truth never can really be contrary to truth, and because often what at first sight is an "exceptio," in the event most emphatically "probat regulam" (p. 451, emphasis in the original).

Newman quite literally underlines the importance of what I referred to earlier as prudence and respect for the canons of a scientific discipline when I identified limits on academic freedom. Truth also is a limit, as I noted above. What, then, can be said about error in this regard? "(I)n scientific researches error may be said, without a paradox, to be in some instances the way to truth, and the only way. Moreover, it is not often the fortune of any one man to live through an investigation; the process is one of not only many stages, but of many minds. What one begins, another finishes; and a true conclusion is at length worked out by the co-operation of independent schools and the perseverance of successive generations. This being the case, we are obliged, under the circumstances, to bear for awhile with what we feel to be error, in consideration of the truth in which it is eventually to issue" (p. 452).

In perhaps his strongest expression of feeling on this point, Newman exclaims, "Let us eschew secular history, and science, and philosophy for good and all, if we are not allowed to be sure that Revelation is so true that the altercations and perplexities of human opinion cannot really or eventually injure its authority" (p. 453). The question then, of course, becomes: what, in fact, is included in divine revelation; what form must a theological declaration take to indicate that a given doctrine is proposed for belief as belonging to the body of divine revelation.

"Great minds need elbow-room," writes Newman,

"not indeed in the domain of faith, but of thought. And so indeed do lesser minds, and all minds" (p. 453).

The theologian, like a scientific investigator, operates within constraints. His or her "elbow-room" will have an ecclesial limit, namely, continuity with the tradition, especially at what John Courtney Murray used to call its "growing edge." Newman has a final word directed specifically to theologians:

> (W)hat I would venture to recommend to theologians, ... is a great and firm belief in the sovereignty of Truth. Error may flourish for a time, but Truth will prevail in the end. The only effect of error ultimately is to promote Truth . . . .
>
> On the other hand, it must be of course remembered, Gentlemen, that I am supposing all along good faith, honest intentions, a loyal Catholic spirit, and a deep sense of responsibility. I am supposing, in the scientific inquirer, a due fear of giving scandal, of seeming to countenance views which he does not really countenance, and of siding with parties with whom he heartily differs. I am supposing that he is fully alive to the existence and the power of the infidelity of the age; that he keeps in mind the moral weakness and the intellectual confusion of the majority of men; and that he has no wish at all that any one soul should get harm from certain speculations today, though he may have the satisfaction of being sure that those speculations will as far as they are erroneous or misunderstood, be corrected in the course of the next half-century (pp. 455-56).

With those words, Newman ends his essay on "Christianity and Scientific Investigation." Those same words, it seems to me, would be a useful keynote to open regional and even local exchanges between bishops and theologians as they attempt to come to a common understanding of the ecclesial limits on the disciplined theological inquiry the bishops and the rest of the church urgently need, and which Catholic theologians, from their positions within the academy, are ready to provide.

Pope John Paul II addressed an assembly of U.S. Catholic college and university administrators in New Orleans at Xavier University on September 12, 1987. He spoke to the issue of what makes a Catholic college or university Catholic. In his view, Catholic identity "depends upon the explicit profession of Catholicity on the part of the university as an institution, and also upon the personal conviction and sense of mission on the part of its professors and administrators." The pope looks to these institutions to help "to make the Church's presence felt in the world of culture and science." Meeting this challenge requires "the personal conviction and sense of mission" of professors and administrators, those mainly responsible for the articulation and implementation of the Catholic identity.

And later in his New Orleans address, with the simple assertion that "religious faith itself calls for intellectual inquiry," the pope assumes that there should be theological inquiry — faith seeking understanding — on a Catholic campus. "(T)hat there can be no contradiction between faith and reason is a distinctive feature of the Catholic humanistic tradition." Since the Catholic university "is dedicated to the service of truth, ...

> there is an intimate relationship between the Catholic university and the teaching office of the Church. The bishops of the Church, as *Doctores et Magistri Fidei* should be seen not as external agents but as participants in the life of the Catholic university in its privileged role as protagonist in the encounter between faith and science and between revealed truth and culture.

Bishops and theologians alike must enable the Gospel always to "challenge the accomplishments and assumptions of the age" (cf. Rom. 12: 2), so that the Gospel can "purify the culture, uplift it, and orient it to the service of what is authentically human. Humanity's very survival may depend on it." Required of both bishop and theologian is "fidelity to the word of God, to ensure that human progress takes into account the entire revealed truth of the external act of love in which the universe and especially the human person acquire ultimate meaning."

But how is this relationship between bishop and theologian to work out in practice? The pope sees it this way:

> Theology is at the service of the whole ecclesial community. The work of theology involves an interaction among the various members of the community of faith. The bishops, united with the Pope, have the mission of authentically teaching the message of Christ; as pastors they are called to sustain the unity in faith and Christian living of the entire People of God. In this they need the assistance of Catholic theologians, who perform an inestimable service to the Church. But theologians also need the charism entrusted by Christ to the bishops and, in the first place, to the Bishop of Rome. The proof of their work, in order to enrich the life-stream of the ecclesial community, must ultimately be tested and validated by the Magisterium. In effect, therefore, the ecclesial context of Catholic theology gives it a special character and value, even when theology exists in an academic setting.

A structure is needed in every Catholic college to facilitate participation by the local bishop in the theological dialogue of the college, not in the governance of the college but in the theological discussion and debate which are part of the life of the college or university. This should be reciprocal influence of theologian on bishop and bishop on theologian, as faith continues its quest for understanding. An appropriate teaching-learning structure, respectful of this desired reciprocity, is needed. Perhaps the seminar room, as opposed to the lecture hall, is an appropriate model that will foster the kind of exchange that is desirable. A roundtable, "horizontal"

model is natural to a campus. It is properly collegial and certainly preferable to a one-way, "vertical," delivery system of judgments and conclusions from bishop to theologians, or vice versa. Any on-campus collegial model is superior to the distant and detached exchange characteristic of correspondence schools. The Post Office is no substitute for direct dialogue. Theologians and bishops have to get together for the exploration of all theological questions. If they do, they will surely grow in love and respect for one another, and in their understanding of the revelation God has entrusted to his church. In this way bishops can, as the Holy Father suggests, be "participants in the life of the Catholic university in its privileged role as protagonist in the encounter between faith and science and between revealed truth and culture." Such participation would do no violence to institutional autonomy. Outsiders from the fields of law, medicine, business, the arts and countless other fields of knowledge are routinely invited to participate in intellectual exchanges on campus. Nor, in my view, would the fact that the outcome of this fully participatory theological reflection "must ultimately be tested and validated by the Magisterium" necessarily imply an infringement on academic freedom. Outside courts validate legal theories debated on campuses. Outside agencies license drugs tested in university laboratories. Patents and copyrights are granted to professors by outside authorities. That Catholic theology should be "tested and validated" by off-campus ecclesiastical authorities is, of course, a special case involving only Catholic theologians and Catholic campuses, but not so special as to disqualify the Catholic campus from membership in the larger set of special cases that make up the world of American higher education.

A question that cannot be avoided on the side of ecclesiastical authorities relates to the preparedness and willingness of bishops to participate in dialogue with academic theologians. Not all bishops are theologians. Nor have all bishops who hold academic degrees in theology "kept up" with developments sufficiently to qualify them for participation in academic dialogue. Another way of posing the problem raised by the pope's New Orleans proposal is to suggest that bishops will now have to be attentive to their personal bibliographies. In order to participate in theological dialogue, one must be a contributor to theological reflection. One's own reflection, one's understanding of the tradition, one's insights relative to clarifying or advancing the tradition — all these must be articulated and communicated to the other participants in the dialogue. The traditional way of communicating these insights is through the delivery of papers and the publication of manuscripts. Bishops who are not academics would not, of course, be expected to have bibliographies that would rival those of the professors. (Some bishops might quip that they are where they are because of the way they chose, at an earlier career stage, to handle the publish or parish option!) But bishop-participants in theological dialogue should be willing to put their thoughts on paper. That paper would be shared before the dialogue begins with the theologian-participants, just as the writings of the theologians would be in the hands of the bishops by way of preparation for the structured dialogue. If a bishop is incapable of articulating and presenting his theological reflection in this way, it seems to me that he therefore disqualifies himself from participation in the theological life of the Catholic university and, more importantly, he recuses himself from judging the quality of the theological reflection of others. He can, of course, make his own the judgments about quality and even orthodoxy rendered by others; bishops are, after all, to be judges of orthodoxy, not of theology as such. But then what would be the intellectual grounds he could claim for inclusion in that key sentence in the Holy Father's speech in New Orleans? "The bishops of the Church, as *Doctores et Magistri Fidei* should be seen not as external agents but as participants in the life of the Catholic university in its privileged role as protagonist in the encounter between faith and science and between revealed truth and culture."

Typically and quite properly the concern of the bishop will be centered on the pastoral implications of what emerges from theological reflection. There is no better place to register that concern than in the process of theological reflection within the university.

To invite the participation of a bishop in theological discussion on campus is not to presume that differences between a local bishop and a given theologian over what constitutes sound Catholic doctrine would immediately become grounds for action against the theologian. The whole point of putting a structure for discussion in place is to create common ground for fuller understanding on both sides, for heightened sensitivities to values like academic freedom, pastoral concern, and many more. Indeed the structure itself should become a barrier against arbitrary dismissal to the extent that it guides the work of understanding theology is intended to do, namely, reflection on the data of revelation and the application of these understandings to the practice of life. Moreover, the presence of structured dialogue will help to shape the understanding of academic freedom on a given campus relative to theology. Internal to the discipline of Catholic theology is respect for and fidelity to the teaching authority of the church. In some way, Catholic theology finds its base in the teaching of the magisterium. To make this relationship between Catholic bishops and Catholic theologians more visible, even at the micro level of a given campus in a given diocese, will, I think, tend to increase the probability of theologians becoming more influential and more secure in their service to the church.

RESPONSE

James J. Annarelli

At the risk of sounding trite I do want to note, from the outset, how very honored I am to be participating in this panel headed by so distinguished a leader of Catholic higher education as the Reverend William Byron. At the same time, I am quite pleased to be here to discuss a topic that not only has a bearing upon the future vitality, indeed, survival of Catholic higher education in the United States, but also is one close to my heart. My academic expertise is the area of religion and society, and academic freedom and American Catholic higher education is a subject to which I have devoted much academic attention in recent years. It is also a subject that I have, over the past year, quite literally lived, having experienced — following the publication of my book on academic freedom — serious institutional reprisals at St. John's University, New York.

I would like to thank Father Byron for this contribution to the continuing exploration of academic freedom in the American Catholic context. The issue is a complex, indeed, seemingly intractable one whose understanding requires that varying perspectives — all necessarily incomplete — interface in an ongoing process of mutual correction.

I would like now to turn to the specifics of Father Byron's address. I believe that a fruitful way to proceed is to first isolate the major thesis or interrelated theses that constitute the heart of Father Byron's argument and then to address each directly. I have identified six interrelated theses in Father Byron's paper:

1. There is an "ecclesial" limit on the academic freedom of theologians *in the church*.
2. "The ecclesial limit on this exercise of human understanding in the church is continuity with the tradition of the church."
3. Judgments concerning continuity are finally made by bishops ideally after a prior dialogue with theologians.
4. Recognition and acceptance of this "ecclesial" limit within the Catholic college or university are essential to the nature of its church-relatedness.
5. The ecclesial limitation of academic freedom within the Catholic college or university violates neither the academic freedom nor the autonomy of the institution because of the Catholic identity which the institution — through its governing board — has freely chosen for itself. A governing board can welcome external influence by exercising, as it wishes, its chartered autonomy.
6. A structure is needed in every Catholic college to facilitate participation by the local bishop in the theological dialogue of the college.

I would like to address numbers one and three together. But before doing so, I have two prior observations. First, Father Byron, early in his talk, differentiates the related concepts ecclesial and ecclesiastical. He opts to speak of an ecclesial limit upon theology. It seems to me, however, that his paper is not focused upon a limit originating from the church as a community of believers understood as a people of God, but rather upon a limit directly related to certain ecclesiological presuppositions concerning church structure and governance. Perhaps the limit in support of which Father Byron argues is more appropriately termed ecclesiastical.

A second prior note: from the outset of his paper Father Byron speaks of the *"freedom of theologians in the church"* and the academic freedom of the theology professor in the Catholic university as though they were undeniably interchangeable issues. It is not self-evident that they should be regarded as such.

Now, regarding points one and three of Father Byron's argument: few, if any, Catholic scholars would quarrel with his assertions that there is a limit on the freedom of theologians *in the church*, that this limit can be conceived as "continuity with the tradition," and that in light of present Catholic ecclesiology the final judgment concerning continuity belongs to the pope and bishops. Some might want to emphasize to a greater degree than he does that the theologian is engaged in a critical and interpretive field of study which requires a healthy mea-

Dr. Annarelli is an assistant professor of theology at St. John's University in New York.

sure of freedom for the theologian within the church. The concern here would be to avoid inadvertently slipping into what has been termed a "theological positivism" which, as Bernard Lonergan points out, conceives the theologian as a "propogandist for church doctrines" who does his or her duty when he or she repeats, explains, and defends "just what has been said in church documents" (*Method in Theology*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1972, 330-31). But with this possible proviso, Father Byron's assertions would, no doubt, be acceptable to most. Indeed, they are acceptable to me. For the emphasis here, as I understand it, is upon the freedom of the theologian *in the church*.

However, I have serious difficulties with those parts of Father Byron's argument which I have summarized as points four and five. In Father Byron's view, the recognition and acceptance of the ecclesial limit upon theology within the Catholic university are essential to the nature of church-relatedness, and it is precisely the autonomy of the Catholic university that allows its governing board to accept freely this limit as a dimension of its institutional identity. My reservations concerning this view are as follows:

1. I do not think that hierarchical control of Catholic universities—which in my view is what is being benignly proposed here—is constitutive of Catholic church-relatedness. Catholic institutional commitment can and should be expressed in ways which respect rather than alter the nature of the American Catholic college or university as an institution of higher learning according to the prevailing conception.

2. The limit upon the theologian in the university to which Father Byron refers is, despite his claims, unlike any other recognized as appropriate by the larger academic community in the United States. If such a limit is essential to theology in every setting—institute, seminary, and university, then perhaps theology so conceived has no place in a university as understood in the United States.

Perhaps it would be fruitful to re-examine the assumption that the freedom of the theologian in the church and the academic freedom of the theologian in the university are identical issues in the American context. The Catholic university in the United States is a type of American university sharing in a tradition of academic freedom and autonomy. Might it not be that the nature and context of the American Catholic university require that the freedom of the theologian-professor be conceived in a broader fashion than the way in which freedom of the theologian in the church is conceived?

I would argue that in light of the Catholic community's understanding of the nature and role of the hierarchical magisterium, the professor of Catholic theology in the university has the responsibility to portray accurately and fairly official Catholic teaching (as proposed and interpreted by the magisterium) on specific theological and moral issues when presenting positions on, or interpretations of, these issues labeled as Catholic. He or she also has the responsibility to distinguish official church teaching from the contrary conclusions of theologians, including his or her own. These responsibilities flow from the basic requirements of scholarly honesty and objectivity—understood not as neutrality but as fairness to evidence. Any lack in this area is to be considered a problem of competence to be addressed by scholarly peers. A theologian's own scholarly conclusions should not reflect upon his or her competence unless the scholar's research methods or professional integrity are found to be lacking. Although such a situation might be regrettable, the professor of Catholic theology must be free to reach conclusions and assume theological positions at variance with the teaching and interpretations of the hierarchical magisterium, so long as the teaching of the magisterium on the particular question under consideration is made clear. The magisterium must, when necessary, exercise the right to declare publicly that a particular theological conclusion is not "in continuity with the tradition." Such a declaration should not in any way jeopardize the academic position of the theologian who reaches such a conclusion. It would, however, be an appropriate matter of concern to the church community and should be explored together by the theologian as an individual and his or her bishop.

It appears to me that if one abandons the notions that the Catholic university is an extension of the official teaching church and that the theologian's lectern is a pulpit of advocacy (the locus of a higher education, if you will), appropriate and creative conceptions of the freedom of the theologian in the university can emerge.

3. Certainly the governing board of a Catholic university has the right and, indeed, the responsibility to make and implement appropriate judgments and policies aimed at institutional self-definition. However, for the Catholic university to remain a university according to the prevailing conception, its governing board cannot invoke institutional autonomy as the justification for its voluntary abrogation of that autonomy. In a related vein, in its "1915 Declaration of Principles," the AAUP recognized that when an institution of higher learning is founded by a religious denomination for the propagation of specific doctrines, its board of trustees does have the right to govern the institution in light of this end. However, the declaration emphasized that such an institution "should not be permitted to sail under false colors." Insofar as an institution restricts intellectual freedom, it remains a "private proprietorship" rather than a "public trust" and therefore has no claim to general support (*AAUP Bulletin* 40 [Spring, 1954]: 95-96). Similarly, in the 1988 AAUP Committee A Subcommittee Report on the Limitations Clause in the 1940 Statement of Principles, the subcommittee members concluded that "an institution's invocation of its prerogative to impose

a limit [on academic freedom] would negate any moral claim it might make for public support" (*Academe* 74 [September-October, 1988]: 56).

Finally, I turn to what I have identified as the sixth point in Father Byron's argument, namely that a structure is needed in every Catholic college to facilitate participation by the local bishop in the theological dialogue of the college. In my view, serious and sustained dialogue between bishops and theologians on a local level would greatly enhance the effectiveness of bishops as teachers, would aid theologians in maintaining close contact with the living faith of the church, and would facilitate the on-going understanding and the positive development of the complementary roles of bishop and theologian. I do have reservations concerning the proposed locus of this dialogue. It seems ill-advised to establish a formal structure *within* the university through which this dialogue would take place. Once integrated formally within a structure internal to the college or university, even the best-intentioned external authority—political, financial, or ecclesiatical—might be tempted to exercise an inappropriate degree of influence. An internal structure for dialogue also could be misinterpreted by university scholars as a vehicle of hierarchical supervision. The result might very well be the inhibition of creative scholarship. Moreover, we must keep in mind the reality of our situation. The Vatican's ongoing attempt to regulate Catholic institutions through canon law and other norms, coupled with movements against controversial scholars and theologians originating from various quarters within the Catholic Church have created on many Catholic campuses and in the Catholic intellectual community in general a climate of fear and suspicion. In the spring of 1988, the ad hoc Intersocietal Committee on Academic Freedom and Ecclesial Responsibility — representing the Catholic Biblical Association, the Catholic Theological Society of America, and the College Theology Society—released a report which warned that restrictions on the freedom of inquiry of Catholic theologians are alienating scholars from the church and leading to the abandonment of research in controversial areas. The report describes many Catholic scholars as disheartened by these restrictions and observes that morale among Catholic scholars appears to be quite low. The mood within many departments of theology is certainly not conducive to the kind of dialogue envisioned by Father Byron.

In closing, I must say that I was somewhat disappointed by the tone and direction of Father Byron's address. At a time when leaders of American Catholic higher education should be jealously guarding the threatened autonomy of their institutions, Father Byron appears to be far too willing to surrender such autonomy. And in an intellectual climate wherein scholars desperately need encouragement to be bold and creative, Father Byron offers us a Catholic reflection upon academic freedom which centers upon limits. I think it is important to keep in mind what Protestant theologian Edward LeRoy, Jr., observed 20 years ago. Academic freedom becomes a reality only where an atmosphere or ethos is created which allows the fear of reprisal to disappear and which encourages—not merely permits—inquiry, exploration, creativity, honest criticism, and the expression of convictions. Such an atmosphere is essential to fruitful scholarship. If the Intersocietal Committee is correct, it is such an atmosphere which is absent or endangered in many Catholic colleges and universities today. And because of this, the church and the nation will be made intellectually poorer.

RESPONSE

James L. Heft, SM

Father Byron's idea of academic freedom may be summarized as follows: academic freedom in a Catholic perspective is like that of any academic discipline limited by the truth, by the canons of the discipline of theology and by the human prudence needed to communicate the discipline's subject matter appropriately. Academic freedom in a Catholic perspective, however, accepts the ecclesial limit that is grounded in the faith commitment freely chosen by a Catholic university. The acceptance of limits associated with religious faith is not a denial of freedom, but the exercise of freedom. Therefore, the issue, according to Father Byron, is religious, not academic, freedom. Finally, a Catholic university has a freely chosen Catholic character expressed in its mission statement and subscribed to by the campus community; to identify with an institution without accepting that institution's self-proclaimed identity makes no sense. Thus, Father Byron concludes that "to proclaim a Catholic identity without accepting an ecclesial limit on theological exploration and communications is to misunderstand not only the nature of church-relatedness, but also the idea of a university and the meaning of academic freedom.

As I understand it, the primary concern about academic freedom for Catholic theologians in recent years in our own country, and for that matter throughout the church in developed countries, is whether it is permissible, and in some instances perhaps even obligatory, for a Catholic theologian to dissent responsibly from some non-infallible teachings. Much of what I have to say this morning has to do with the validity and the importance of the distinction between infallible and non-infallible teachings, and the consequences this distinction has for the Catholic theologian. Only once in his paper does Father Byron touch upon this distinction, and then only implicitly. After citing a statement of John Henry Newman to the effect that we should be so sure of the truth of Revelation that controversies will not diminish its authority, Father Byron states: "The question then, of course, becomes: what, in fact, is included in divine revelation; what form must a theological declaration take to indicate that a given doctrine is proposed for belief as belonging to the body of divine revelation." However, Father Byron does not pause to answer this crucial question. Instead, he follows this question with another quotation from Newman about the theologian's need for "elbow-room not in the domain of faith, but of thought," and then proceeds to cite the conclusion of Newman's essay on "Christianity and Scientific Investigation," which underscores the theologian's need for pastoral prudence.

At this point in his paper, Father Byron might have turned from Newman's *Idea of a University*, and taken up his later work on *The Vatican Decrees*, where Newman stresses the importance of a moderate interpretation of the meaning of papal infallibility, of avoiding the tendency to inflate infallibility's scope and of the importance of conscience. It was at about that time, in 1873, that Newman, after his disappointing efforts 20 years earlier at founding a Catholic university in Ireland, opposed the plan of a Catholic university in England for the simple reason that he had no hopes that the bishops there would allow a genuine university education. In a letter written that year 1873 he said, "I dread a minute and jealous supervision on the part of authority which will hamper every act of the heads of the university" (*Letters*, vol. 26, p.61). When Cardinal Manning eventually set out to establish the short-lived Catholic university at Kensington, Newman refused to serve on its senate despite an invitation from the archbishop. That same tension between at least some bishops and universities has extended itself into our own day as well. In this country we are blessed, I might add, with a number of bishops who understand universities well.

I wish to begin with a consideration of the nature and the validity of the distinction between infallible and non-infallible teachings. It is not as though we have only recently attempted to distinguish between the essentials and the inessentials of the faith. Sts. Peter and Paul and James and the whole church with the assistance of the Holy Spirit (Acts 15:22), decided at the Council of

Father Heft is provost of the University of Dayton.

Jerusalem that circumcision was not to be required of Gentiles. Medieval canon lawyers assumed that there was a difference, though at times difficult to determine with precision, between matters of discipline and matters of doctrine, and medieval theologians also thought it was important to determine the degree of authority to be attributed to various teachings and theological positions.

The question of whether it is legitimate to dissent from non-fallible teachings could arise only once there was a more formal distinction between infallible and non-infallible teachings. It was only around 1840 that the terms "ordinary" and "extra-ordinary magisterium" were first used in a papal document. About the same time, and for the first time, the term "magisterium," that is, the teaching authority in the church, was, as Yves Congar has shown, exclusively identified with the hierarchy. When the First Vatican Council set down the conditions necessary for an infallible papal definition, it became possible in a carefully circumscribed way to identify infallible teachings, and thereby to distinguish more easily the infallible from the non-infallible. That council, however, said virtually nothing about the nature of an individual Catholic's responsibility to accept non-infallible teachings.

Vatican II addresses the matter in paragraph 25 of *Lumen Gentium* when it says that a "religious submission of will and of mind must be shown in a special way to the authentic teaching authority of the Roman Pontiff, even when he is not speaking *ex cathedra*." Commentary on this text has been divided. Some authors have argued that it means that all Catholics are bound to accept all teachings of the pope, even if some are not infallible. Others, I among them, have argued that the obligation to accept non-infallible teachings is not the same as that to accept infallible ones. Hence, internal religious adherence is to be distinguished from what theologians call the assent of divine faith which is due only to infallible teachings. Internal religious adherence is not metaphysically (or absolutely) certain, but morally certain. The distinction between internal religious adherence, on the one hand, and the assent of divine faith on the other is made because, as Francis Sullivan explains, "The non-definitive teaching of the magisterium is not infallible, it can be erroneous; if it is not irreformable, it can stand in need of correction."

Most traditional manuals of theology, even before the Second Vatican Council, understood the obligation of ordinary Catholics in this way. If educated Catholics disagreed for good reason with a non-infallible teaching, they remained in good standing as Catholics, but were to remain silent about their dissent. What is new now is the question of public dissent by a theologian concerning non-infallible teachings. In an address given on April 15, 1986, at St. Michael's College in Toronto, Ontario, Cardinal Ratzinger himself said concerning the work of theologians that "there is no question that it is important to find legal formulas by which we can safeguard the objective freedom of scientific thought within its limits and guaranteeing the necessary room for maneuver for scientific discussion." I believe that one of those formulas is suggested by the distinction between infallible and non-infallible teachings.

It should be recalled that this distinction is not always easy to draw, for to paraphrase Scripture, the wise Christian does not live by infallibly defined propositions alone. There are many important Christian truths that have never been formally and infallibly defined, such as the great commandment of Jesus to love God with our whole hearts and our neighbors as ourselves. Theologians, it seems to me, are obligated to teach more than only infallible teachings. As a recent editorial in *Commonweal* states: "Authoritative, non-infallible teaching, after all, could be reasonably construed to cover a great deal that one might want to insist a Catholic theologian hew to if he or she is teaching in the name of the church — the condemnation of racism, for instance, or slavery, or judicial torture" (113 [1986]: 165). We therefore need to recall that there are many more infallible truths than there are infallibly defined truths. In other words, all defined truths are infallible, but not all infallible truths are defined.

Having said this, however, it is crucial, nonetheless, to stress the obvious point made above by Sullivan that non-infallible teachings could be erroneous. The obligation to accept them cannot be held to be the same as that which attaches to the acceptance of infallible truths. Otherwise, the critics of academic freedom for Catholic theologians will continue to state their case in a way that obscures if not ignores the importance of this distinction. Cardinal Ratsinger states that Father Charles Curran's position that theologians can dissent from non-infallible teachings "does not seem appropriate." The Cardinal calls it a "juridical approach" which "tends inevitably to reduce the life of the church, and its teachings, to only a few definitions." Granted, the distinction can be abused. But even greater abuses, particularly to the creative and critical work of theologians, are in my judgement likely if those in authority do not observe the distinction in some fashion. As Ladislaus Orsy wrote recently, "A good portion of the non-infallible propositions is no more than respectable school opinion, and as such not part of the universally held Catholic doctrine. Theologians should not be easily castigated for criticizing or rejecting such teachings; to say that *all* non-infallible teaching forms an organic unity with infallible magisterium is nonsense" ("Magisterium: Assent and Dissent," *TS* 48 [1987]: 486).

To stress as Father Byron does the importance of accepting an ecclesial limit of academic freedom is, in my view, to stress what is not in contention. Most Catholic theologians accept as a part of their self under-

standing that they must theologize within and not against Catholic dogma. Most Catholic theologians accept the need for an official magisterium, including the special role of the bishop of Rome. After listing a number of points on which Catholic theologians agree despite their current difficulties with the magisterium, Edward Schillebeeckx adds to the list of agreements that "the official magisterium has a distinct and irreplaceable function" in the community of believers, a function that at times may include the responsibility of judging the work of an individual theologian whose publications "cause profound doubts about whether he or she still stands in the line of the great Christian thinkers" ("The Magisterium and Ideology," *JES* 19 [1982]: 17, cited by Margaret O'Gara, "Shifts Below the Surface of the Debate on Dissent," forthcoming in Elias P. Mallon, ed., *Authority, Dissent, and Models of Church Unity*, Paulist Press).

In stressing the critical importance of the distinction between infallible and non-infallible teachings for Catholic theologians and for the entire church, I in no way wish to suggest that the all complex dimensions of public dissent for theologians on non-infallible teachings have been worked out. As I have already suggested, the distinction is not always easy to make. Most areas of current controversy have to do with moral theology where there are special complexities yet to be resolved satisfactorily. Moreover, the danger of scandal is a very real one, and theologians ought not to dismiss it out of hand. At the same time, it should be recalled that many different types of individuals can be scandalized, including theologians and reflective and informed Catholics, although Scripture advises us to show the greatest concern for the most vulnerable. To make a case for the validity of dissent without stressing even more the attitudes of openness and docility on the part of theologians, their willingness to reexamine their own positions, their desire to seek the truth through careful research and mutual criticism, is, to quote Newman again, to not be "fully alive to the existence and the power of the infidelity of the age."

How theologians should conduct themselves before the media, which rarely treats issues of considerable complexity with any adequacy, and which polarizes positions, leaving out the amount of consensus on an issue that often does in fact exist, remains a difficult problem. But as we all struggle with this difficult issue — namely, responsible public dissent by theologians from some non-infallible teachings — let us remember that this is the issue at the heart of academic freedom for a Catholic theologian. It is even more important than the distinctions that need to be drawn between pontifically chartered institutions of higher education and those which are, according to the latest Vatican draft, "Catholic in inspiration," for in both kinds of institution theology needs appropriate freedom.

I would like to make one final observation about Fr. Byron's paper. I welcome his proposal for local and regional exchanges between theologians and bishops. For those bishops who would be willing and capable, a structure at each university that would bring theologians and bishops together for conversation, would, I believe, increase mutual respect and understanding. For their part, theologians will have to work harder at mutual criticism, and take steps to increase and deepen the dialogue between "conservative" and "liberal" theologians.

In my response to Father Byron's talk, I have said that I believe that the crucial distinction is not between religious and academic freedom, but between infallible and non-infallible teachings, and how we ought to deal with responsible public dissent by theologians. However we eventually come to a consensus in the church on this difficult issue, I am sure that candid, respectful and frequent discussion among theologians, university presidents and bishops will, in the words of Father Byron, "increase the probability of theologians becoming more influential and more secure in their service to the church."

The Hesburgh Award — A Response

Sally M. Furay, RSCJ

I want to thank the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities for choosing me as recipient of this award. Most of my adult life has been dedicated to the mission of Catholic higher education. It is humbling to follow in the giant footsteps of previous recipients such as Father Ted Hesburgh, the first honoree, for whom the award is named; John Tracy Ellis, eminent historian of Catholicism in this country; Sister Ann Ida Gannon, BVM, and Jesuit Father Paul Reinert, who were instrumental in charting new paths for Catholic higher education after Vatican II. Nonetheless, I am pleased and grateful to receive the Hesburgh Award.

Since Vatican II, much has been thought, said, and written about emerging facets of Catholic higher education in America. Everyone in this room has become familiar with the questions as they have been explored in all their diversity, both in general and on particular campuses; each of you could recite the issues as well as I:

- What are the essential characteristics of Catholic colleges and universities? Their objectives?
- What makes a college or university Catholic? How is a Catholic college or university Catholic in practice?
- What kinds of Catholic institutions are there? How do they relate to the mainstream of higher education in America? To the American hierarchy? To canon law? What about legal and governmental issues?
- How does one reconcile academic freedom and essential autonomy with our service to the church?
- What is the role of campus ministry, of research, of continuing education? How do our institutions contribute to social justice and to the development of community? What about service to the broader community?

And so on.

Everyone in this room has accepted responsibility in one form or another for such issues. We have discussed, probed, read, written, dissected, analyzed — even agonized over these questions. I do not intend today to add further comment on the issues I have described. Many of you know more than I do about them; and in any case, I would be preaching to the choir.

Instead, I would ask you to reflect for a moment on the nature of the points I just raised. They are predominantly "What" questions or "How" questions. My interest today focuses on "Why," not in the sense of "Why have Catholic higher education?", but rather, "Why have so many of us chosen to commit our professional and personal lives to Catholic higher education?" More specifically, why have I made that choice? It is the single area where I am the only expert! Like many in this assembly, at least since Vatican II, I could have chosen to participate in higher education in the public sector, in the private non-sectarian academic community, or in one of the associations. Why am I in Catholic higher education, and why is it meaningful to me? My hope is that, though I am speaking of the motivations of one individual, some of my "Whys" may find an echo in your hearts. I will focus on three points.

The most fundamental reason for my sense of "belonging" in Catholic higher education is the integration between my personal values and those of the institution, between who I am and what the institution says it is. My inner life and my work merge into a wholeness; the faith dimensions of life and work match. Why do I find thus? Because my university is a human institution with a religious dimension. Not only most individuals on campus, whatever their personal religious beliefs, but also the institutional community as a whole share a commitment to God, to person-centeredness. The University of San Diego is clear in purpose, however imperfect in realization. Institutional structures are examined for their consonance with what the institution says it values, and fundamental internal dynamics seek to be in accord with those values. There is a living witness of overt commitment on the part both of the institution and of many of its personnel. There is recognition that modern men and women listen more willingly to witnesses than to teachers, and if they listen to teachers, it is because they are witnesses (*Catholic Higher*

Sister Sally M. Furay is vice president and provost of the University of San Diego.

Education and the Pastoral Mission of the Church, USCC, 1980, p.9). I agree with what Michael Buckley said in the early 1980s, that academic leadership or administration within a Catholic university is essentially a religious mission. He pointed out that "It is in and through the Catholic university that the mission of Christ to draw all human culture to himself is given historical continuity and visibility in the twentieth century"; hence, "the Catholic university, as a unique Catholic community, is like any other Christian community, essentially sacramental" ("Jesuit Catholic Higher Education: Some Tentative Theses," *Review for Religious*, May-June 1983, p. 344). It is in this context that my own religious values and those of the institution mesh.

But the integration begins, not stops, there. The challenge of reconciling this facet of institutional identity and integrity with the fundamental purpose of any university, namely, its firm commitment to serious teaching and research, is exciting to me. I find compelling the concept that Catholic higher education opens the church to the intellectual world. Father Ladislas Orsy, SJ, in a fine little book called *The Church: Learning and Teaching*, expands on Jacques Barzun's designation of the university as "house of intellect" by noting that a Catholic college or university is "the house of intellect made brighter by the light of faith" (Wilmington: M. Glazier, 1987, p. 125). As has often been said, loving contemplation is the highest of human activities, and the only one humans will enjoy in both time and eternity. Catholic colleges and universities have traditionally insisted upon strong emphasis in the liberal arts, including theology and philosophy, as the primary means to the integration of knowledge which is essential to such loving contemplation. The disciplines of theology and philosophy, dealing as they do with ultimate meaning, have always held a central place in Catholic higher education, contributing to the opportunity for students to search for a personal wholeness in issues of faith, values, and the meaning of human existence. Because in my own life these disciplines have helped to orient me towards personal wholeness, I am committed to this educational emphasis of Catholic higher education. Though I have always had a strong appreciation of the significance of the intellectual life and of the full development of the mind, learning does not constitute for me the perfect and fulfilled life." It needs to be integrated with our search for the Lord and living with our neighbor a life of faith in Him" (USCC, p. 12). New intellectual horizons in all fields bring new experiences of God; they should — they are the pursuit of truth. Not long after Vatican II, Jesuit theologian Michael Buckley described the Catholic college or university as "a forum where in utter academic freedom the variant lines of Catholic tradition and thought can intersect with the most complex challenges, contradictions, and reinforcements of contemporary thought, moving towards a unity of world and Word, that all things be assimilated into the Christ. No other institution within human culture can render this critically important contribution to the Christian community (as a whole) . . ." ("The Catholic University as Pluralistic Forum," *Thought*, 46:181, June 1971, p. 20).

Because of their emphasis on this kind of integration, Catholic colleges and universities accept the responsibility to ask questions on many levels, from the perspectives of theology, spirituality, history, economics, social justice, among others, questions such as — to paraphrase Peter Henriot — What relevance, if any, does my university have to the issue of the future survival of the human family? When I face challenges such as this question poses, I realize that participation of the educated person must be aimed at changing the world, not simply succeeding in it. My personal dedication to help create an environment where the intellectual, spiritual, moral, psychological, social, and physical development of university students of all ages can change their lives and those of others, freeing them to attain their full humanity, finds full expression in an institution committed to asking such fundamental questions. I firmly believe that social justice itself has a strong intellectual dimension, and that "religious ideals without the necessary secular expertise will not provide the kind of leadership needed to influence our complex society" (USCC, p. 9).

To summarize: my response to the question "Why have I chosen participation in Catholic higher education?" can be focused simply:

- integration between my personal values and those of the institution;
- commitment to intellectual life which recognizes the faith dimension;
- opportunity to influence the creation of an environment which orients education towards the improvement of the human condition.

Several months ago, I heard a presentation by the president of the San Diego Urban League; he noted that, as a black man fighting for racial equality, he was, to quote Ralph Waldo Emerson, "inwardly and desperately drunk with a belief." I think I can say that I am inwardly and desperately drunk with a belief in Catholic higher education. The mission of Catholic colleges and universities is intoxicating. Thank you for this opportunity to confess my passion, my addiction.

Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities
(A Department of NCEA)
Suite 650 One Dupont Circle Washington, D.C. 20036

Current Issues in Catholic Higher Education is a publication of the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities. It contains original articles and reprints of articles of interest to colleagues in Catholic higher education. Editor: Sr. Alice Gallin, OSU. Managing Editor: Paul J. Gallagher. Editorial offices: ACCU, Suite 650, One DuPont Circle, Washington, DC 20036. Additional copies $5.00 each (1-9 copies); ten or more copies $4.50 each: prepaid.